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KARS AND ERZEROUM:

WITH

THE CAMPAIGNS OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH

IN 1828 AND 1829;

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE

CONQUESTS OF RUSSIA BEYOND THE CAUCASUS,

FROM THE TIME OF PETER THE GREAT

TO

THE TREATY OF TURCOMAN CHIE AND ADRIANOPLE.

LIEUT.-GENERAL W. MONTEITH,

K.L.S., F.R.S., &c. &c.

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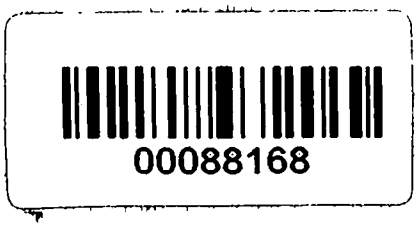

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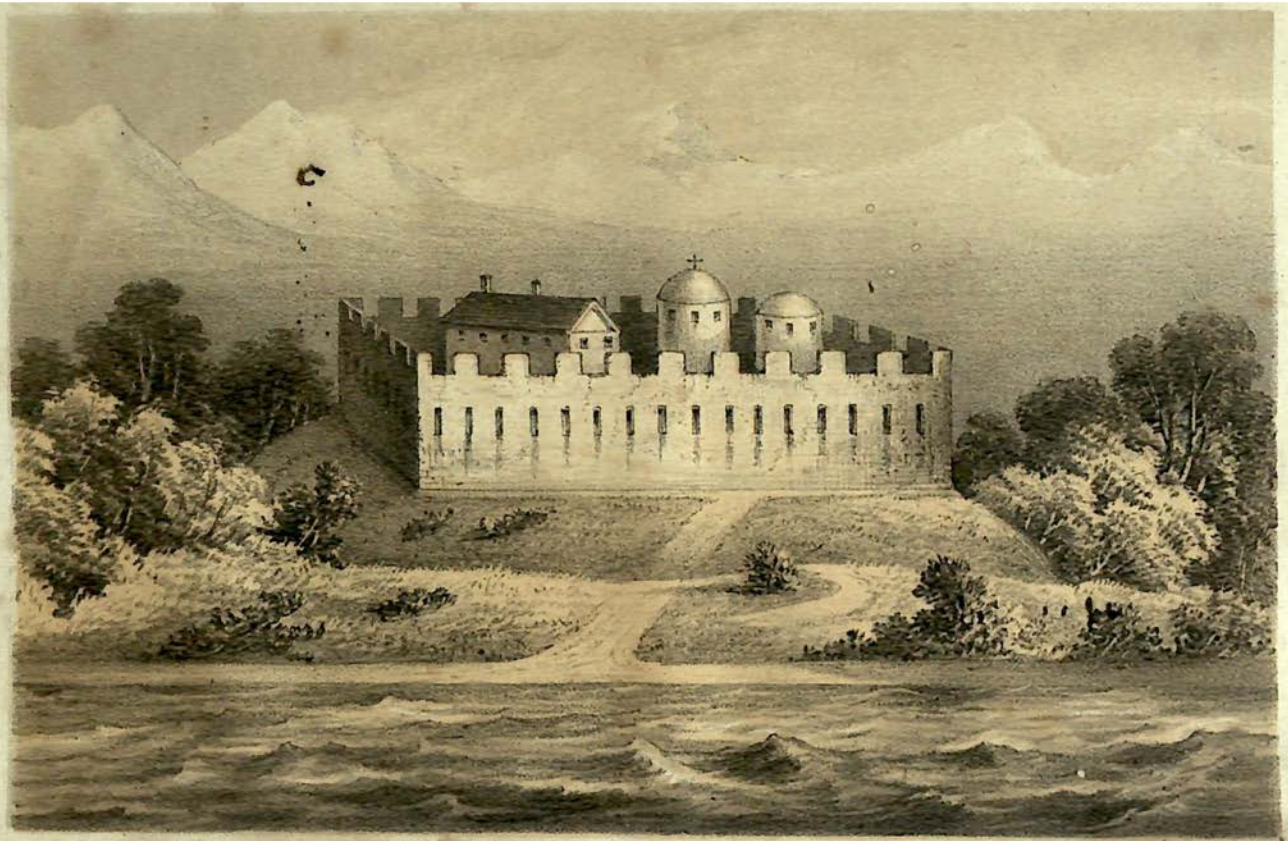

M & N. HANHART IMP.

SOKHUM CULLA NEAR THE SITE OF DIOSCURIUS

TO

C. MACNAGHTEN, ESQ.,

CHAIRMAN;

COLONEL W. H. SYKES, V.P.R.S.

DEPUTY CHAIRMAN;

AND THE

DIRECTORS OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY.

HON. SIR, AND GENTLEMEN,

By your kind permission I have the honour to dedicate to your Hon. Court this work; the materials of which were collected during my residence in Persia, and which I hope may contain some information useful at the present time.

I have the honour to be,

Sir, and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILLIAM MONTEITH,

Lieut.-Gen. E. I. C. S. Late of the Madras Engineers.

PREFACE.

In offering the following pages to the public, it is perhaps necessary to say a few words concerning the sources from which the information contained in them is derived.

My personal experience in those countries extends over a period of nearly twenty years, during which time I was attached to the various missions in Persia, having proceeded thither with Sir John Malcolm in 1810, and quitted it in 1829, soon after the arrival of Sir John M'Donald Kinneir. During the earlier part of my residence in the country, I was in constant communication with the Persian officers who had served under Agha

Mahomed Khan, and from them I received a considerable portion of the information I have given concerning the early wars, and which I have every reason to believe perfectly correct. I was on terms of great intimacy with Alexander Mirza, the only one of the sons of Heraklius who escaped being sent to Russia; and on the two occasions of his invasion of Georgia, I escorted him through the Russian territories. I saw him continually after his escape into Persia, and from his own lips heard the story of the dangers and difficulties he had had to encounter, as well as of the noble hospitality afforded him by the mountaineers.

By the treaty of Turcoman Chie, Russia levied a heavy contribution upon Persia, and the task of superintending its payment devolving upon me, I was brought into constant and immediate communication with General Paskiewitch. I followed him to Tiflis shortly after the commencement of

the Turkish war, and much of the campaign of 1828 came under my personal observation. The dates and the order of events I have given from M. Fonton's work on Prince Paskiewitch's campaigns, but much of the information I received from Prince Paskiewitch himself, or from various officers of the Russian army.

The account of the invasion of Persia by Peter the Great is taken from Bell; and some Armenian works translated into French, and but little known, have furnished part of the narrative of Count Zuboff's expedition.

Some years have elapsed since the occurrence of the events narrated in these pages, but I have hitherto been deterred from publishing, by the supposition that some other members of the Persian Mission were engaged upon a similar work, — an idea which must have been erroneous, as nothing of the kind has appeared. I have so freely

allowed various persons access to my papers, that I think more information has probably been obtained from me than I have taken from others; as, however, I have sought for it wherever it has come within my reach, I must confess my inability always to specify exactly the persons to whom I am indebted, and must pray them to accept this general acknowledgment.

The population of the Caucasus and Georgia, and the Mahomedan population as far as the banks of the Arras, have, I think, been over-estimated at 3,000,000 of people. The number of recruits annually furnished to the army of the Caucasus, from the year 1800 to 1830, was returned at 22,000; up to that date, therefore, 660,000 men had been sacrificed by Russia to her worthless conquest. Since 1830 the invasion of the Northern tribes of the Caucasus has been more vigorously carried on, and a much greater number of men has been called

for; indeed, I think it may be safely stated that, up to the present time, a million and a half of men in the prime of life have perished there either by sickness or the sword.

February 18th, 1856.

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WITH PART OF
PERSIA
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to the Treaties of Turkoman Cie & Adrianople
BY LIEUT GEN.L W MONTEITH.
Russian Versts
English Miles
Russian Territory coloured
Persian D.o
STAVROPOL
Cossacks of the Terek
LITTLE KABARDA
TCHETCHENIA
DAGHESTAN
GEORGIA
KOUR
ARAXE

S H I R V A N
K A R A B A G H
Bay of Kisil Agatch
Plain of Mogan
Yellow R.
Kur R.
Araxes R.
Kasvin
45
46
47
48
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50
39
38
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COAST OF THE BLACK SEA
CIRCASSIA
EUROPE
ASIA
BLACK
SEA
SWANETH
(SUANIA)

LAKE
VAN
Bingol Dagh
Khoshmez D.
Kaz Dagh
Jebel Judi
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Longitude East 41 from Greenwich
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KARS AND ERZEROUM.

CHAPTER I.

EXPEDITION OF PETER THE GREAT TO PERSIA. — CONFERENCE WITH THE CHIEF OF THE CALMUCKS. — MOUNTAIN TRIBES. — PETER'S VISIT TO THE SHUMKHAL. — PRESENTS OF CATHERINE STILL PRESERVED AS HEIR-LOOMS. — VIOLENT STORM. — TREATY WITH THE SHAH. — BAD FAITH OF THE CZAR. — TREATY WITH TURKEY. — DEATH OF PETER. — QUEEN TAMARIS. — RESHT. — UNHEALTHINESS. — HERACLIUS. — NADIR SHAH. — LESGHIS.

In the year 1721 an embassy was despatched to Russia by Shah Sultan Hussein, King of Persia, earnestly soliciting aid against his rebellious subjects the Afghans, who had seized upon the city and fortress of Candahar, and, after possessing themselves of several provinces, appeared to threaten the entire subversion of the Persian Empire. Assistance was readily promised by the Czar, probably from motives not entirely disinterested; for those who are acquainted with the last testament of Peter the

Great, a document in which conquest in every direction, and almost by every means, is insisted upon as the duty and destiny of Russia, will be inclined to doubt his good faith, and to suspect that he was from the beginning well disposed to participate in the dismemberment of the empire he professed to defend.

Early in May 1722 troops were assembled in Moscow, embarked on board a flotilla constructed for the purpose, and despatched down the river as far as Kolumna, where the Moskowa falls into the Oka, one of the main branches of the mighty Volga.

On the 30th of May the birthday of the Emperor was celebrated with the usual rejoicings. He had already inspected the flotilla, and reviewed the troops, consisting of 16,000 men, among whom were half of the Imperial Guard as it then existed; and on the 31st he sailed for Kasan in the state galley, escorted by a number of smaller vessels and accompanied by the Empress and many of the ladies of the court; his object in preceding his fleet being to hold a conference with Ayaka Khan chief of the Calmucks, a prince held in the highest esteem throughout the country, and enjoying the greatest consideration at the court of Pekin. The Czar

treated him with great honour, and requested of him 10,000 Calmuck horse to accompany the expedition. The khan willingly promised assistance, but thought it unnecessary to employ so large a force; and 5000 of the Tartar horse was the number finally agreed on, and despatched to the general rendezvous at Terki in Daghestan, near the Caspian. The fleet soon followed the Emperor down the Volga; and all preparations being completed, on the 19th of July the imperial standard of Russia first waved over the Caspian. It was a proud moment for the Great Czar, the creator of the Russian navy, when he surveyed the waters covered with his fleet, whose very existence was owing to his exertions. The number of vessels, amounting to 300, would have been considerable anywhere, but in the Caspian no armament of any magnitude had ever before been seen; and as the Czar led the van in his galley, he saw his ships stretching in every direction as far as the eye could reach, their snowy sails glancing like sea-birds in the sun.

The whole force assembled at Terki on the 25th of July, a place which was then on the frontier of Russia. It is situated on a branch of the Terek, in a position of great natural strength, from the circum-

stance of its being surrounded by deep marshy ground, and being only accessible by one road well commanded by batteries. It was occupied by a garrison of 1000 regular troops besides Cossacks, and was principally intended to overawe the mountaineers, who have at all times been a restless and unruly people.

The troops landed at Agrakhan on the 28th, and the Emperor drew a plan for a small fortress to be erected on the eastern bank of the river, where such stores as could not be conveniently carried on might be deposited, and which might also provide a place of retreat in the event of any unforeseen accident. This fortress was constructed without delay by the soldiers. Meantime General Veteranie, commanding a party of dragoons, had been attacked near the town of Andrea by some of the mountain tribes, and had defeated them, though not without some loss. The prisoners made by the Russians were sent to the camp, and are mentioned by the writers of the time as being very fine, able-bodied men. The attack upon the Russians was apparently premeditated, for the men had removed their families and effects to the mountains, and had barricaded the streets, the town being destitute of means of defence; it was also unprovoked, for proclama-

tons had been issued both by the Emperor and his generals, promising to leave the inhabitants unmolested, and declaring that the Russians had not come to invade the country, but only desired a free passage through it: and promises were at the same time given that all provisions, &c., furnished to the army should be paid for with ready money.

The Shumkhal* or chief of this part of the country was well affected towards the Russians, and having been informed of the arrival of the Emperor, he went on the 2nd of August to pay his respects to him, accompanied by several of his officers, whose looks appear to have made a great impression on the Russians, for the old writers speak continually of their beauty and athletic appearance. The Shumkhal would willingly have sent a considerable number of his people to accompany the Russian army, but it was not considered advisable to take advantage of his offer, as the ostensible object of the expedition was to reinstate or assist the King of Persia; and the whole province of Daghestan was in open revolt against that monarch, on account of his conduct towards the Ameenut Dowlah, a relation of the Shumkhal's, whom he had deprived of sight. Only the means of transport

* Called the Addiguy by Bell.

were therefore accepted, and during the interview, which lasted some hours, arrangements were made for the march, and carts were promised for carrying the baggage. The force consisted of 30,000 fighting men, including 10,000 Cossacks of the Don, principally under the command of Krasnotzokin, and the 5000 Calmucks already mentioned, forming the contingent promised by Ayaka Khan. Three hundred carts were furnished after a little delay by the Shumkhal, and the army commenced its march in the middle of August; but they had not proceeded far when a serious disaster occurred. The troops had halted on a spot where, among the grass by the side of a brook of indifferent water, was a quantity of the herb known by the name of Roman wormwood: this herbage was greedily devoured by the horses, and on the following morning the troops were amazed to find about 500 of them lying dead in the fields. Their death was attributed to the wormwood; but it must be observed that both in Persia and in India there are several plants considered fatal to horses; even clover and lucerne are reckoned unsafe until they have been cut and the leaves begin to droop.

Fortunately the Calmucks were as usual provided with many spare horses; for, as these

people prefer horse-flesh to beef, their compendious manner of carrying provisions is, simply to be accompanied by as many spare horses as they think themselves likely to require ; and they will even dispense with bread and salt. On the present occasion the dead horses were not entirely lost, for, as they were in good condition, and had perished from an accident and not from disease, the Calmucks feasted upon them for several days.

The Shumkhal habitually resides at Terki, and on the arrival of the force on the plains near that town he and his wife and daughter paid a visit to the Russian camp. The young princess is represented as having been a person of extraordinary beauty, whose attractions would have been remarkable in any part of Europe. At the invitation of the Shumkhal, the Emperor and Empress visited him in his castle; and the presence of Catherine was of essential service in creating a degree of intimacy with the families of the chiefs impossible under any other circumstances. She won their hearts by her attentions, and many valuable presents made by her have been carefully preserved as heirlooms in their families. In the year 1821, just one hundred years after this memorable visit, I was told by Surkhi Khan,

ex-chief of the Kasi Koumeck (Lesghi) that his daughter possessed a diamond necklace which had been presented by Catherine to one of her ancestors, and handed down from one generation to another.

The clouds of dust, which completely obscured the air, and the excessive heat caused much suffering to the troops, especially as there was a scarcity of water, so that the cattle were obliged to be sent some distance from the camp to drink, and to be, accompanied by a strong party of Cossacks to protect them from the enemy; for a certain Daghestani chief* had assembled a party of troops for the purpose of harassing the Russian army in its march through some hollow ground. His men were posted on the summit of the neighbouring hills, and a party descended into the plain with the intention of driving off some of the Russian cattle. A skirmish ensued with the irregular troops and some men were killed on both sides: the Emperor, however, directed the dragoons

* This chief is called by Bell the *Usmey;* but this is clearly a mistake, that being the title of the chief of the Andrea tribe, by whom Col. Veteranie had been attacked, and who would not have passed through the country of the Shumkhal, to whom he was very inferior in force.

to support the irregulars; and on their appearance the enemy soon dispersed, leaving a good many prisoners in the hands of the Russians. The irregulars and dragoons pursued the enemy until recalled by the Emperor who feared some ambush; and the main body of the army advanced to support them. The town where the Prince resided was then captured by the dragoons and irregulars, who took terrible vengeance upon the mountaineers for their rash attempt.

The army soon resumed its march towards Derbend, across a dry parched plain, and afterwards through a defile which the artillery and baggage passed with difficulty, but without meeting with any molestation; and on the 29th the troops halted within a short distance of Derbend, the frontier town belonging to the Shah of Persia; and preparations were made for a solemn entry on the following day. Near the camp were some pits flowing with Naphtha, which abounds generally in this part of the country.

On the 30th the Emperor set forward on horseback at the head of his troops, and was met about three miles from the city by the governor and magistrates of Derbend, bearing the golden keys of the town and citadel upon a cushion

covered with rich Persian brocade, which they presented on their knees to the Emperor. Guards were posted at the gates, cannon and ammunition supplied, and a garrison commanded by Colonel Younger placed in the citadel before the Emperor passed through the town at the head of his troops. The governor offered his house, and quarters for as many troops as the place was capable of accommodating; but the Emperor preferred remaining in the camp he had caused to be formed in the vineyards near the town, and only half a mile from the sea-shore, where the army awaited the arrival of the transports bringing provisions and stores, every preparation being made in the meanwhile for advancing farther into the country. But fate had ordered it otherwise, and Derbend was destined to be the utmost point of the Emperor's expedition. The transports arrived in safety, and all appeared prosperous; but hardly had the vessels anchored when a violent storm came on from the north-east, by which they were driven on shore and most of them dashed to pieces. The provisions and stores were either destroyed or so much damaged as to be nearly useless, but happily not many lives were lost.

Whatever might have been the plans of Peter, whether simply and honestly to afford the assist-

ance he had promised to the King of Persia, or, what is more probable, to take this opportunity of extending his own territory, they were entirely frustrated by this occurrence. It was impossible to advance through a country destitute of resources, and it was equally impracticable to await fresh supplies from Astracan, for the season was already far advanced. Nothing remained but to retreat, and this step was resolved upon: a garrison was left in Derbend, and the army retired to Agrakhan; the baggage and artillery that were not required were deposited in the fort constructed by the soldiers, and the remainder were embarked on board the fleet, and arrived safely at Astracan in the middle of October.

It was supposed that the force left in Derbend would have been sufficiently strong to reduce Bakoo; but this did not prove to be the case, and an additional force was despatched the following year under General Matuschkin. Ismail Bey, who had been appointed ambassador to Russia, passed by Bakoo just at that time, and urged the governor to admit the Russian force; but his advice was in vain, and it was not until the place had been bombarded for some hours by the Russian ships that it surrendered to General Matuschkin. This was on the 7th of August 1723.

By a treaty signed at St. Petersburg, the Emperor engaged to reinstate Shah Tamas on condition that the western and southern shores of the Caspian should be ceded to Russia; and a force was despatched under Prince Dolgoroucki for the purpose of occupying Talisch and Ghilan, in addition to what had already been taken possession of, viz., the country to the mouth of the Arras, including the Delta of Salian; and though the treaty concluded by Ismail Bey was disowned by Shah Tamas, it did not prevent Peter from seizing upon the provinces of Ghilan, Talisch, Daghestan, and Bakoo. Ghilan was occupied almost without resistance by General Matuschkin, whose force is variously stated at from 6000 to 10,000 men: the latter number appears the most probable, and, considering the natural difficulties of the country, is by no means excessive. In Sheki and Shirwan Prince Dolgoroucki made but little progress, and his possession of those districts was incomplete. By the shameful treaty concluded between Russia and Turkey, and signed by Ismail Bey, ambassador of Shah Tamas, much territory* was assigned to

* The provinces of Daghestan, Shirwan, Sheki, Bakoo, Talisch, Ardebil, Ghilan, Mazanderan, and Astrabad.

Russia: the treaty, however, was not ratified by the Shah; and, in spite of all their endeavours, the Russians never were able to establish themselves in Mazanderan and Astrabad, and but imperfectly in Ghilan.

The treaty between Russia and Turkey, by which the finest provinces of Persia were to be partitioned, was concluded in June 1724, but no attempt was ever made to reinstate the unfortunate Shah Tamas upon the throne. The death of Peter in January 1725 put a temporary stop to the endeavours to extend the Russian influence in Persia; and nothing farther was done until, in 1727, General Romanoff was despatched as commissioner from the court of St. Petersburg. The attempt upon Mazanderan and Astrabad had never been seriously made, and had been easily repulsed; and on the 25th of June 1726, Lijan, one of the principal divisions of Ghilan, was occupied for the first time by General Matuschkin, after defeating a body of Mazandaranee troops by whom he had been attacked.

It soon became evident to Catherine I. that the Persian conquests could only be maintained at an expense of men and treasure far exceeding any advantage to be derived from them; for under the

mismanagement of the Russians the resources of the country had greatly deteriorated, and even the production of silk had rapidly declined.

Up to this period there had been but little communication between Russia and the Christian states of Georgia, so little indeed, that in the history of that people Russia is mentioned once only, on the occasion of a mission sent by Ivan the Terrible into Georgia, to ascertain whether the people of the country were really Christians. There is indeed a tradition that the great Queen Tamaris married a Russian prince who had fled to Georgia, but that the union was not of long duration, for he proved as brutal in his manners as he was contemptible from his various excesses; and after a short time a separation or divorce took place, when he retired to the court of Byzantium. However, the story is far from being well authenticated, nor is there even any positive evidence of such a prince having ever existed. The dominions of Queen Tamaris* comprised all Georgia,

* The memory of this great queen is still held in the highest veneration through all Georgia, and the mountain tribes. In a picture of the Lesghis they are represented as carrying ice on their backs for her use, saying that none but men were worthy to bring her provisions.

Daghestan, and up to the Arras and Mountains of Soganlook, as well as a great part of Armenia. She reigned from 1171 to 1198.

The agent of Ivan the Terrible was empowered to conclude an alliance with any of the chiefs who might be so disposed; but his conduct was very injudicious, and but little calculated to inspire them with confidence; for he began by requiring the Wallis of Immeretia and Kartuel to acknowledge the Russian Czar as their sovereign, at the same time that he was unable to afford them the degree of support and assistance against their Turkish and Persian neighbours which would alone have induced them to give up their independence. It is not surprising therefore that the mission should have proved totally unsuccessful.*

The petty wars carried on by the different Russian officers who commanded in Ghilan,

* It is reported that in 1586, during the reign of Ivan Feodor, Grand Duke of Russia, the Georgian clergy acknowledged the supremacy of the Archimandrite of Moscow, by consent of the king of Persia; nor is this impossible, as such a proceeding would separate them from the Patriarch of Constantinople, under whom they had previously been. At this time, to facilitate the communications with Georgia, the towns of Mosdah and Kislar were built, and Russian colonies established.

Shirwan, and Daghestan, are but little known, and led to no results of importance, though they occasioned a great drain of men and supplies from Russia.

The climate of the whole of the shores of the Caspian is very unhealthy, and the troops required to be replaced at the rate of one-fourth per annum: Ghilan is considered so insalubrious that it has passed into a proverb in Persia, "He who is tired of his life, let him go to Ghilan." This is certainly the case during the months of July, August, September, and part of October, when the bulk of the inhabitants retire to the mountains: the few who remain at that season always sleep on raised platforms, which afford a partial protection from the exhalations of the soil, and the people thus exposed have a sallow and unhealthy appearance. The Russians cleared away the woods for several miles round Resht, but their exertions had little effect in improving the health of the troops.

Whatever importance might have been attached by Russia to her new possessions, her progress was destined for the present to be suddenly arrested, for events had taken place in Persia which soon changed the face of affairs. The great Nadir Shah had appeared on the scene; and as soon as

he had cleared his country of the Afghans and Turks, he despatched an embassy to Russia, requiring the evacuation of the Persian provinces.

Between the years 1732 to 1736 the Russians evacuated Derbend, the last of their conquests. The officer commanding in Ghilan, having shown some hesitation in retiring, received a message from Nadir Shah that he would send his tent-pitchers (ferashes) to sweep him into the sea; and as troops at the same time advanced, as if to put this threat into execution, the Russians embarked with great precipitation. Friendly relations still continued between Persia and Russia, then threatened with a Turkish war; and the march of the Khan of the Crimea to aid the Sultan was thus effectually prevented; for, strange to say, the Circassians were at that time the devoted subjects of Russia, and rose in arms in her cause to resist the Khan of the Crimea.

Nadir Shah recruited his army with a strong body of Georgians, under the command of Heraklius, the son of Tamaris, Walli of Georgia, who did good service in the Indian expedition, and also served as a hostage for the fidelity of his father, who had shown some inclination to solicit the aid of Russia. His advances were unavailing;

as that power, however well inclined to take advantage of every opening, did not venture to incur the risk of a simultaneous war with Persia and Turkey. All arrangements with the court of St. Petersburg were to be made by Ibrahim Khan, Nadir Shah's brother, who was also entrusted with the general superintendence of the provinces north of the Arras. Ibrahim appears to have been a brave and able man; but his career was brief, as he was soon after unfortunately killed by a party of Lesghi robbers, whom he had pursued from Sheki into the pass of Zekertelli. The Lesghis and the people of Daghestan had always been a thorn in the side of Persia, and Nadir lost no time in attacking them on his return from India. Great conqueror as he was, however, he experienced more loss and difficulty in this war than in the conquest of Afghanistan and Delhi; and after a long and arduous campaign, and the loss of 30,000 of his best men, he was obliged to content himself with the submission of the greater part of the Lesghians, including their Shumkhal or chief. The Lesghians then tried to induce the Russians to attack Persia, offering to join them with 60,000 men; but the Empress did not venture on so open a proceeding, and confined herself to giving secret

assistance in money and stores, and assembling such troops as could be collected on the frontier of Daghestan. These demonstrations passed unnoticed by Nadir, who had more important business to attend to; and he contented himself with placing a strong garrison in Derbend, the utmost limit of the Persian empire. The chastisement of the Lesghis struck such terror that for many years they did not venture to attack Persia; most of their strongholds had been taken, particularly the celebrated one of Gallersen Gorersan (*Come and see*), which was the only answer the chief of the Kasi Koumecks gave to the Nadir's summons to surrender. The king of Persia replied: "I will come, and place your head on the gate, and your wife in my harem," a threat which he executed to the letter; the mountain was escaladed, the chief and garrison put to the sword, the women and children carried off as slaves.

CHAP. II.

GEORGIA. — HERAKLIUS — OFFERS TO SUBMIT TO RUSSIA. — RUSSIAN TROOPS SENT INTO GEORGIA — RECALLED AT THE DESIRE OF HERAKLIUS. — LEEWAN — HIS ASSASSINATION. — GURGINE. — AGHA MAHOMED KHAN INVADES GEORGIA. — DEFEAT AND FLIGHT OF HERAKLIUS — HIS GRIEF. — TIFLIS SACKED. — DEATH OF CATHERINE. — DEATH OF AGHA MAHOMED KHAN. — GEORGIA ANNEXED TO RUSSIA. — ROYAL FAMILY OF GEORGIA REMOVED TO RUSSIA. — ASSASSINATION OF COUNT LAZAROFF BY THE WIDOW OF GURGINE.

Up to this period, the Princes of Georgia do not seem to have entertained any expectation of being protected by Russia, nor indeed do they appear to have desired it. By the treaty concluded between the latter power and Turkey, a treaty that had for its principal object the dismemberment of the Persian Empire, Georgia had been allotted to Turkey; and accordingly Turkish garrisons were immediately placed in all the Georgian forts, though the internal government of the country was left to the native princes. A small pecuniary tax was levied upon them, but a far heavier tribute was exacted in children of both sexes

for the service of the Sultan; the inhabitants were not, however, called upon to furnish soldiers; and there is no record of Georgian troops having been employed in the Turkish army.

Georgia was at that time divided into five principalities: Kartuel, or Georgia proper, whose capital, Tiflis, is the only considerable town in the whole country; Kakhetia, chief town Tellav, was generally governed by a relative of the Walli or Prince of Kartuel; Immeretia, chief town Coutais, governed by a Walli; Mingrelia by a ruler called Dadian; and Guriel, whose chief bore the same appellation as the province he governed. The three last small states compose the Black Sea provinces: their inhabitants differ in appearance from the people of Kartuel and Kakhetia, and are much less handsome; and though their spoken language is nearly similar, there are signs among them of an admixture of foreign blood. The whole of these provinces were at one time united under a single sovereign, Queen Tamara, who reigned from 1171 to 1198, and was feared and respected throughout all the states of Persia and Asia Minor. But by the treaty of peace concluded between Nadir Shah, and the Sultan, the whole of these states as well as Akhiska were ceded to Persia.

Nadir confirmed the authority of the Princes, but never gave any serious attention to their affairs.

When the Persian monarch departed upon his Indian expedition he took with him a number of Georgian troops, partly on account of their excellence as soldiers, and partly that they might serve as hostages for the fidelity of the people. The contingents of Kartuel and Kakhetia were commanded by the celebrated Heraklius. He was the son of the Walli, and was greatly esteemed and trusted by Nadir, who appointed him on his return chief of Kakhetia, as well as successor to his father in the government of the province of Kartuel: the troops were amply rewarded for their services when dismissed after the Caucasian campaign.* Tamaris, the father of Heraklius, had been Walli of Georgia under the Turks, but was confirmed in his government by the king of Persia. His contingent consisted of about 3000 men, and his son by whom they were com-

* I have frequently met with Indian coins in the villages near the Black Sea, dating in reality from the time of the expedition of Nadir. This, however, was too simple an explanation for an European savant, whom I found earnestly searching for the Hindoo money bearing the bull's head, with the idea that they were Egyptian coins of the time of Sesostris, and that they consequently afforded a proof of that doubtful conqueror's having established a colony in Colchis.

manded distinguished himself greatly at the siege of Candahar. Nadir declared Heraklius to be possessed of the highest military talent; and, of all the followers of that great conqueror, he certainly most nearly resembled his master. Unfortunately he even surpassed him in rapacity and in utter disregard of all truth and justice.

After the death of Nadir in 1747 Georgia was again threatened by the Turks, who appeared inclined to attempt regaining the provinces they had lost; and in 1752 a mission was despatched by Tamaris and Heraklius to St. Petersburg, to offer to submit to the Empress Elizabeth, on the same terms as those under which they held their states from Persia. The offer was accepted, and both father and son received their formal investiture, a small pension being at the same time granted to enable them to equip their troops. In the year 1760 Heraklius got possession of the castle of Tiflis, and endeavoured to detain his father a prisoner there; but the old prince succeeded in making his escape, and fled across the Caucasus into Russia, where he was well received; though no hopes were held out to him of any assistance being given towards reinstating him in his government. Heraklius succeeded in justi-

fying himself at the court of St. Petersburg, and in 1768 the first Russian troops passed the Caucasus. By the greatest exertions General Toklabene had succeeded in constructing a road practicable for artillery through the valleys of Araga and Terek. It was a most wonderful work, and might almost have been considered impossible, the defile being perhaps the most frightful known in any country; but the skill and energy of the Russian general at last prevailed over every obstacle, and the road was completed. The remains of the old Caucasian Gates are still to be seen at Dariel, but they are completely in ruins, and have been replaced by a miserable Russian redoubt. Much mischief is often caused by the descent of avalanches and torrents, and at the time of the Russian advance scarcely a trace of the ancient road could be discerned. Traffic was carried on principally by means of Ossete porters; and at every stage the boundary tribes exacted a toll, usually paid in kind, and often consisting of linen or coarse cloth; but so little confidence existed among the recipients, that each article was divided into minute portions on the spot, and the dress of the people in consequence presented a strange variety

M & N. HANHART, IMP.ᵀ

PASS OF DARIEL IN THE CAUCASUS OR OLD CAUCASIAN GATES.

of colour and material. The difficulties attending General Toklabene's undertaking had been in every respect extreme, and well might he feel proud and happy when it was completed, and he saw the great plains of Georgia under his feet.

A Russian force, which is variously stated at from 6000, to 10,000 men, immediately joined the Georgian army, and gave battle to the Turks near Akhiska; they were victorious, but the heavy losses sustained by the Georgians moderated their satisfaction at the advantages gained in the encounter. Heraklius soon became jealous of the influence of General Toklabene over the people, and being for the present relieved from apprehension on the score of the Turks, he procured the recall of the Russian force. The troops retired to Mosdock and the line of the Caucasus, with the exception of about 300 men, probably deserters, who remained as a guard for the Walli, his own subjects having begun to exhibit great symptoms of discontent and disaffection. It was not long, however, before he was obliged again to have recourse to the Russians; for the Lesghis, whose predatory inroads into Georgia had been checked by their dread of Nadir Shah, now recommenced their destructive attacks,

carrying devastation wherever they appeared, until the year 1788, when a force of 2000 men again entered the country under Generals Lazaroff and Goulakoff, and, in concert with the men of Kakhetia, engaged the Lesghis near Kara Agatch, and totally defeated them with great slaughter, after which the Russians returned to their quarters on the Terek.

Heraklius was now advancing in years, and finding that his energies began to fail, he committed the great error of entrusting the government of the different provinces to his sons. Of these, Leewan, the eldest, alone possessed the necessary abilities for his difficult position. He appeared to be endowed with most of the better qualities and much of the talent of his father, who might have hoped to find in him a successor capable of governing his distracted country; but he was assassinated at Telav by a Georgian, and with him perished the last hopes of Heraklius. Gurgine, his second son, who afterwards succeeded him, was sunk in sloth and habitual gluttony, and his excessive corpulence rendered him incapable of leading his troops, so that he was despised by the army and hated by the people. It was his custom to go about to the houses of the nobility,

and take up his abode with them as long as they could supply him with provisions, his first demand being for a calf; and when he had exhausted their supplies, his entertainers served up the skin of the animal at the next repast, as a hint to their royal guest to betake himself to other quarters, better provided with the means of hospitality.

Agha Mahomed Khan, had already made considerable progress in the conquest of Persia, and had sent to claim the submission of Georgia; but the protracted defence of Shesha, the capital of Kara Baug, defended by Punna Khan, who had refused to submit to the Kadjar monarch, lulled Heraklius into security, and he failed to take the necessary measures for the defence of his kingdom. He was at last aroused to a sense of the danger, and commanded his sons to march to Tiflis. Gurgine Khan was directed to join with 10,000 men of Kakhetia, and 8000 subsidised Lesghis; and Alexander Mirza, another son, was ordered to advance with the force guarding the frontier of Akhiska. But neither of the princes obeyed the commands of their father; and a body of 2500 men, sent by the Walli of Immeretia, immediately set to work to plunder the city they were employed to defend, thus adding to the terror and confusion which

already reigned there. Messengers had been despatched to General Goudowitch, urgently requiring him to hasten his march; but this, the only effectual measure attempted, had been too long delayed to be of any avail, and Heraklius now experienced from his children treatment similar to that he had offered to his own father. The Queen of Georgia set the first example of flight; it was speedily followed by most of the principal inhabitants; and the people of Tiflis, abandoned by their leaders, disorganised, and supported only by their doubtful allies the men of Immeretia, lost their courage and presence of mind, and took no effectual measures to repel the Persian army. The extremity of danger appeared to renew the failing energies of Heraklius: he strove to make a stand with his guards and the few men who still retained their allegiance, and attacked the Persians with the vigour of his best days; but it was impossible for him to stem the torrent; he was overpowered, his handful of men driven back, and he himself fled through Tiflis to the Caucasus. The unfortunate city was given up to pillage and the flames, and 20,000 Georgians were carried into slavery. Agha Mahomed Khan remained but a few days among the ruins of the place, having still to conquer

the provinces of Shesha and Erivan, both of which were of more importance to him than Georgia.

Heraklius had taken refuge at Misheti, the ancient capital of Georgia, about thirty miles from Tiflis; and a touching description of his grief and despair is given by an Armenian merchant, who had escaped from Tiflis after its capture, and was introduced by a priest into the presence of the prince, then seeking the shelter of a ruined church. "Behold," said his guide, "that aged and once great man, the friend of Nadir and the terror of the surrounding nations. Scarce can he now collect fifty followers,—nay, he has a difficulty in obtaining subsistence from day to day." Heraklius lay on a common straw mat, with his face turned to the wall, lamenting with groans and bitter tears the unnatural defection of his children and the ruin of his people; at the same time he acknowledged the justice of his sufferings, and confessed his reverses were a righteous punishment for his unnatural conduct towards his own father. It was some time before his attention could be attracted to the strangers, and his grief burst forth with redoubled violence on hearing from the merchant the horrors which had succeeded the fall of the city. He was incapable of being roused to

form any plans for the future; and the Armenian was soon dismissed, and continued his journey to Russia, whither he resolved to retire.

The Empress Catherine was deeply affected by the misfortunes of Georgia, and General Goudowitch was ordered to proceed across the Caucasus, with whatever force he could collect, at the same time that a more numerous army under Valerian Zouboff was despatched along the shores of the Caspian. General Goudowitch assumed the military command of Tiflis immediately on his arrival; and a treaty was soon after concluded by Heraklius, declaring Georgia should be subject to Russia after the decease of her actual ruler.

The army of Zouboff passed the winter of 1796 on the great plain of Magan; and had the life of Catherine been prolonged there is little doubt that Agha Mahomed Khan would have been driven out of the province of Azerdbijan, its chiefs being perfectly prepared to join the Russians, and burning with desire to avenge the cruelties exercised by the Persian usurper; but the sudden death of the Empress arrested the progress of the principal army; and Agha Mahomed, being now master of Shesha, Ganja, and Nackshiwan, Erivan alone still making a show of resistance, he again made great

preparations for an invasion of Georgia. A considerable army had been assembled in Kara Baug, and from the vacillating course pursued by Russia the unfortunate province would probably have been exposed to the severest disasters: but providence frustrated his designs; the tyrant, distinguished alike by his talents and his crimes, was assassinated by two of his servants in 1797, his great army at once dispersed, and a civil war succeeded. Heraklius and Gurgine sent a joint mission to St. Petersburg, offering to submit entirely to the power of Russia, and their submission was accepted by the Emperor Paul; but Heraklius did not long survive it, and his son Gurgine was nominated by the Emperor to succeed to the title, though not to the power, of Walli. He died in 1801, despised and detested by his subjects, and after having been for a considerable time quite incapable of moving from excessive corpulence and dropsy. According to this treaty, Georgia became an integral portion of Russia, and the plans of Peter the Great for the subjugation of all the adjacent kingdoms,—plans which had never been lost sight of by his successors, however they might differ in opinions and character,—were now again an object of attention, and every endeavour was made to carry them into execution. Ca-

therine I. and her successor had trembled lest Nadir Shah should invade Russia, a fear which was certainly totally unfounded, but which prevented their taking any active steps in that quarter. Catherine II. had made great preparations for an energetic attack upon Persia, but she died, struck down by apoplexy, before she was able to commence operations; and Paul, after undoing what his mother had begun, and losing the favourable moment, resolved upon following the same course of proceeding, though under far less favourable circumstances. In order to secure the tranquil submission of Georgia, orders were issued that the royal family should be sent to reside in Russia. It was no doubt a necessary measure, for they had still many adherents, through whose means continual disturbances might have been occasioned; but it caused extreme dissatisfaction among the Georgians: nor did the royal exiles submit to their fate without resistance. General Lazaroff, a native of Georgia or Armenia, and who had greatly distinguished himself on various occasions, fell a victim to their indignation or vengeance: he had been charged with the duty of sending away the princesses; and it is said that in answer to the remonstrances of the widow of Gurgine, who after the death of her husband considered herself no

longer a member of the royal family, he had held out hopes of her being exempted from the general order, promising to use his influence in her favour; When therefore the moment arrived, and he signified to her that the carriages were in readiness, she refused to move. The general declared that his orders were positive and that resistance was useless, and he laid his hand on her arm to enforce his words, when the queen immediately drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. This act of violence did not, however, prevent her removal; she was hurried into a carriage, and on her arrival in Russia was confined in a convent on the Ladoga Lake. To friends who were permitted to visit her she complained of the utter solitude of her life, there being no persons in the convent who could speak her language: but she never expressed any regret for what she had done, and always entertained hopes of being at last set at liberty, and spending the remainder of her days in her native country. But the weary years passed on, and she apparently died in captivity; at least her name does not appear among those of the Georgian ladies who in 1820 were permitted to return to Georgia, where a portion of the royal estates was assigned for their subsistence.

CHAP. III.

PRINCE SESIANOFF GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA — HIS PRUDENT POLICY — TAKES GANJA. — UNHEALTHINESS. — ERIVAN. — BATTLE WITH THE PERSIANS. — KARA BAUG. — SHESHA. — SHEKI. — SHIRWAN. — ASSASSINATION OF PRINCE SESIANOFF. — SUBMISSION OF DERBEND AND BAKOO. — MISMANAGEMENT OF THE RUSSIANS. — VIOLENCE OF CAPTAIN LESANOWITCH. — HIS DEATH. — MEHDEE KHAN.

GEORGIA was now formally incorporated with the Russian Empire; Prince Sesianoff, a Georgian of high family, was appointed to be the first Governor-General, and immediately commenced organising the country according to the Russian system, after which he turned his attention to the subjugation of the neighbouring principalities. He resolved to make his first attack upon Ganja, a considerable town, and supposed by many authors to command the defile leading into Georgia. This, however, is an error; the town and fortress are situated at the foot of a high chain of mountains, six miles from the Kur, to which the ground descends with a very gradual slope, here and there intersected by insignificant ravines. As a fortress,

it is of no great strength, and its position on the great route of the plain of the Kur (Cyrus) appears of greater advantage as a defence to Georgia on the map than it is in reality.

The chief, Jowat Khan, had offered no resistance to Agha Mahomed Khan, and had been by him confirmed in his government. He belonged to the royal Kadjar tribe, a circumstance that caused him to be treated with respect and confidence; and funds were granted him for the purpose of raising additional troops to garrison his fortress. When Prince Sesianoff appeared before the place in the autumn of 1803, the Russian force he brought did not exceed 5000 troops of all arms, and they were totally unprovided with the means of carrying on a siege: the garrison consisted of about 2000 men of the province and 900 Lesghi auxiliaries. The Russian attack was made by a night escalade in three places at once, and the first advantages gained were on the quarter defended by the Lesghis; but the assailants were everywhere successful. Jowat Khan and the greater part of the garrison perished in the defence of the city, and the province of Ganja was incorporated with Russia. The loss of the Russians in the storm did not amount to more than 300 men, but sickness prevailed to such an

extent that Prince Sesianoff was compelled to return to Tiflis. It is a singular fact that, in the valleys of the Kur and of the Araxes*, there are localities which ought to all appearance to be perfectly healthy, while in fact the climate is really deadly. Ganja is a remarkable instance of this; it is situated on a high plain, with a gravelly soil, and good water: it is also open all round, securing a free circulation of air; yet during the months of July, August, and September it is constantly visited with a most malignant fever, so that all the inhabitants who have the means of leaving it remove to the mountains at that season, and encamp there at a distance of about six miles from the town, where the evil influence seems to disappear.

It was necessary that Prince Sesianoff should use every exertion to recruit his force, as an attack might be expected from the side of Persia; and he was also very desirous of obtaining the adhesion of Mahomed Khan, the chief of Erivan, who had refused to submit to the court of Teheran. Negotiations were opened for that purpose; but they were clumsily conducted, and an error which has frequently been committed by the Russian diplomatists was repeated on this occasion. The Khan of Erivan was called upon to submit to the Em-

* Or Arras.

peror and give over his fortress to Russia: he replied that he could make better terms with his countrymen; but that if the Russians defeated the Persian army at that time threatening Erivan, he would hold his government as an ally of Russia, and give his assistance to the prosecution of the war. The Russian army encamped about six miles from the great Armenian convent of Etchmiadzden, which was about twelve miles from Erivan; and the Persians under Abbas Mirza were posted on the great plain with the convent on their right, and occupying the gardens immediately in front of the Russian camp. On the 20th of June 1804 (St. Ripsima's day), the Russians marched to attack Abbas Mirza's right, threatening to cut off his communication with Erivan. Their force consisted of 4000 or 5000 infantry, 2000 Cossacks, and 3000 Georgians, together with 20 pieces of artillery.

The Persian army might have been 30,000 strong, principally cavalry, with about six badly mounted and inefficient guns. This was the first action between the Russians and Persians, and from the accounts it appears that it much resembled that between the Mamelukes and the French at the battle of the Pyramids. The Persians, trained

in their civil wars, charged the Russian squares with great impetuosity, and even broke into the rear-guard and baggage, but suffered severely from the fire of the squares and artillery; and towards evening they retired repulsed, but not dispirited, to Chulmitchie, a village on the heights above Erivan. The Armenians declared that the battle having been fought on St. Ripsima's day, and close to her church, the saint had protected the Christians and had given them the victory.

The situation of the Russians, however, was not much improved by their success. Prince Sesianoff marched to Erivan and entered into communication with Mahomed Khan, who refused to open the gates of his fortress to the troops of either party. The castle of Erivan is nearly surrounded by two high walls, well flanked by towers, and defended further by a deep dry ditch: these secure it everywhere except on the side which is washed by the river Zengue, whose rocky bank of a perpendicular height of thirty feet renders all but a thin wall unnecessary; and this portion is principally occupied by private houses belonging to the officers of the khan. Neither party had the power of reducing the fortress, which was well provided with stores and provisions for two years; but even at this

juncture many of the chiefs of Azerdbijan joined Prince Sesianoff; and, had he contented himself with acting as their supporter, he might have driven the King of Persia beyond the Coflan Koo, if not from the throne; a vast expenditure of men and treasure would have been saved, and the object of Russia more surely and more speedily accomplished.

The Persian army took up another position about eight miles from their enemy's camp, and intercepted their supplies. The Russian general sent a strong detachment of 1200 infantry, with some cavalry and guns, to make a night attack upon the Persian lines: the guides misled the troops, who got entangled in the rice-fields and among the numerous water-courses, and day broke before they reached the enemy's camp, which would have been completely surprised had they arrived a few hours sooner. Fortunately for the Persians they were not seized with the panic that usually prevails among them on these occasions; what men could be got under arms fought bravely, and detained the Russians until the remainder were able to retire. Part of the baggage was lost, but a far greater portion of it was plundered by their own men. Abbas Mirza succeeded in reassembling his

force at Develloo, about twenty miles off, and the detachments acting on the Russian communications still held their position.

The Russian army now began to be in want of provisions and ammunition, and Colonel Montresor volunteered to make his way to Kara Kelisea, where a Russian depôt had been formed, with the purpose of bringing supplies and whatever reinforcements could be collected. By a night march of forty miles he reached the head of the valley of Abaran, distant fourteen miles from the Russian station; but here he was overtaken by Peer Kouli Khan, with 6000 Persian horse. The Russians got into a cave, and defended themselves till their ammunition was all expended, and the Persians then closed upon them; Colonel Montresor and many of his party were killed; and not above fifty men and one young officer were spared, besides a few of the youngest of the Georgian nobility. The prisoners were sent to the royal camp, and the heads of the slain were exposed in different towns of Persia.

Nothing remained for Prince Sesianoff but to retreat, after making a demonstration against Abbas Mirza, who on his side retired beyond the Arras to Tabreez The Russians leisurely regained the valley of Pembek, leaving a garrison

in Gumri, a convenient though exposed position on the frontiers of both Persia and Turkey. They now occupied the whole of the territory that had ever belonged to Georgia besides Ganja, which was an advanced position, facilitating greatly the further conquests for which the Russians made considerable preparations during the winter.

According to custom, the Persian troops were disbanded during the cold season; but their position was greatly improved by the surrender of Erivan, —a most fortunate occurrence for the Persians, as it enabled them to bring their army within 100 miles of Tiflis into a country abounding with provisions, and which had suffered but little during the civil wars. Mahomed Khan, to whose family the government of the province had long been entrusted, and who had striven to maintain his independence, intriguing for that purpose first with one party and then with the other, at last decided on submitting to his own nation. He belonged to the Kadjar tribe, which was that of the reigning family, and was immediately removed to Teheran, Georgia is, however, more defensible on this frontier than along the valley of the Kur, and therefore Prince Sesianoff determined to occupy Kara Baug

and the provinces on the Caspian, which would afford him a better means of communication with Russia.

Ibrahim Khan, the chief of Kara Baug, had fled to the Caucasus when Shesha, reduced by famine, was compelled to surrender to Agha Mahomed Khan, and he had been received by Umma Khan *, the Lesghi chief of Kasi Koumeck, whose daughter he had married. He had always been popular in his government, and on the death of the Persian tyrant † he returned thither with 5000 of his father-in-law's men. He was received with the utmost joy by his former subjects, and, burning with the desire of avenging himself on the Kadjar

* This chief was the son of Pumma Khan, herald in Nadir Shah's service, by whom he was entrusted with the management of the province, of which he contrived to gain possession after Nadir's death.

† After the surrender of Shesha, Agha Mahomed Khan remained in the place, committing every kind of atrocity on the people, who had surrendered on a capitulation. During the night he was disturbed by the quarrelling of two of his servants, whom he threatened to put to death on the following day; and as they well knew such a threat was never made in vain, they anticipated the tyrant by stabbing him. He cried miserably for mercy, but was informed he had never shown any and had therefore none to expect. They were both subsequently killed by Futteh Ali Shah. The Persian army dispersed, and Pumma Khan regained his government.

dynasty, he solicited a Russian garrison to guard his capital, Shesha, which has always been considered the key of the country, although it is not situated on the great roads. This fortress was built by Pumma Khan, and occupies the flat summit of a high mountain, accessible only on the eastern side, the other three being surrounded by immense perpendicular rocks. There are several springs of fresh water at the top of the mountain, and, what is very rare in such situations, water is found at a moderate distance from the surface. The accessible side is defended by a thin stone wall, well flanked by towers: but the road leading to it has been principally made by the Russians; it has a steep ascent of nearly three miles, practicable, however, for artillery and loaded carts, and the strength of the place and its various other advantages have enabled it to sustain several protracted sieges.

Prince Sesianoff lost no time in profiting by this piece of good fortune, and immediately despatched a force of 2000 men to occupy the fortress, while he himself took post on the Tartar river, where he expected the arrival of the detachments he had directed to join him from all directions. The authority of Futteh Ali Shah was now established throughout the whole of Persia south of the

Arras. He was encamped near the bridge of Khuda Afareed, but failed in preventing the Russians from occupying Shesha, though he had despatched his son Abbas Mirza with a considerable portion of his army in the hope of intercepting them: he, however, arrived too late, and was then ordered to attack Prince Sesianoff, who was much weakened by having sent detachments to Shesha, besides making a farther division of his forces to watch the Illyat tribes, who appeared inclined to emigrate into Persia; so soon had the Russians succeeded in rendering hostile the people who had at first been perfectly well-inclined towards them.

The garrison of Shesha had detached a battalion to occupy Askeran, a post which closes the mouth of the valley. Abbas Mirza, however, succeeded in cutting off their supply of water, and the Russians were reduced to such distress that Colonel Korasin appeared inclined to surrender; but the second in command, Major Kutlerousky, addressed the soldiers, and called upon such as preferred death to slavery among Mahomedans, to join him. It appears Korasin then agreed to make an attempt to gain Sha Boulak, a ruined castle at some distance, and the attempt was successful. The Russians took post in a defensible position, but, having only such

provisions as the men had been able to carry with them, Kutlerousky, with 150 picked men, had to make his way through the mountains to the camp of the commander-in-chief, who immediately marched to the relief of Sha Boulak. A cavalry action now took place between the Persians and Russians, in which about 300 Cossacks and Dragoons were killed. The Persians were repulsed by the infantry and guns, and the king and Abbas Mirza recrossed the Arras and abandoned Kara Baug to Russia. The provinces of Sheki and Shirwan also submitted, under the condition of being governed by their own chiefs and according to their own laws and usages. Prince Sesianoff was wise enough to comply with these terms, and now turned his attention to the acquisition of Bakoo, a province that would be particularly valuable to him, as opening his communication with Russia by the Caspian, where a fleet, having about 2000 men on board, had appeared in the end of the year 1805, had anchored at the island of Sari, near Landkeran, and assisted Mustapha, Khan of Talisch, in repulsing the Persian troops, who had advanced to enforce his submission. They then proceeded to Enzelli, the port of Resht, and with this inadequate force made an attempt to gain possession of Resht; they

tried to make their way in boats up a narrow creek, but were defeated by the inhabitants of Ghilan with the loss of 1000 men; the remainder retired to Enzelli, a position they were able to hold.

Prince Sesianoff had entered into a correspondence with some partisans in Bakoo; and expecting that through their agency the fortress would be delivered up, he had no hesitation in attending a conference to which he was invited; but he was treacherously shot there* by the governor, who had in the meantime entered into negotiations with the Persian government.

This was a fatal blow to the immediate progress of Russia. Prince Sesianoff was by far the ablest man who has ever been charged with the government of the Transcaucasian provinces. He had held his command nearly four years, and his loss was deeply felt. The Russians immediately fell back on Shirwan; and great advantages might no doubt have been gained by the Persians, had they shown any energy or disposition to avail themselves of the opportunity now in their power, of gaining possession of that important point; but

* February $\frac{8}{20}$. 1806.

they contented themselves with a desultory warfare in Kara Baug, from whence many of the Illyat tribes were induced to emigrate into Persia.

Derbend at this time expelled Sheikh Ali Khan, and admitted a force which arrived by sea, under General Boulgakoff. Bakoo also opened its gates, and was occupied by the detachment from Enzelli. This was the spontaneous act of the people, who were unable any longer to endure the tyranny of their chiefs. The Khan of Sheki met with the same fate as the ruler of Derbend. With these revolutions Russia had nothing to do; and had the conciliatory policy latterly adopted by Prince Sesianoff been persevered in, she might still have enjoyed the fidelity and loyalty of her Transcaucasian provinces. After the expulsion of the khans, the people were directed to choose a council, and the interference of the Russian employés was strictly prohibited. The people really felt the blessing of being delivered from their local tyrants, and also the advantage of being protected by a power capable of defending them; but this system lasted but a short time, and the establishment of a Russian administration, with its corruption and useless complication, soon led to discontent and hatred.

A still more questionable proceeding took place

regarding the chief of Kara Baug, who was shot in his tent by a party of Russians, under the command of Captain Lesanòwitch. The Russian authorities assert that Ibrahim Khan had repented of his submission to Russia, and was flying with his treasures and the females of his family to the Persian army. This is denied by the remaining part of Ibrahim's family; and the circumstance that his eldest son Mehdee Khan was at the time residing quietly at Shesha, seems to give their statement the greater degree of credibility. Be that as it may, a party were sent in pursuit of Ibrahim Khan, and overtook his family, who had encamped for the night about fifteen miles from Shesha, and had taken no precautions against a surprise. On Captain Lesanowitch's arrival, he ordered the tents to be immediately struck and the party to return with him to Shesha; and as this was not instantly complied with, he fired a volley into the tents, which killed Ibrahim Khan and two of his wives.

This act was disavowed by the Russian authorities, and Mehdee Khan, the eldest son of the murdered chief, was immediately installed in his place, and remained a loyal subject or ally of Russia during the whole of the war; indeed, without his cordial co-operation, the Russians

would not have been able to maintain themselves in Kara Baug. Captain Lesanowitch was afterwards promoted to the rank of major-general, and to a command on the Erivan frontier, and subsequently to another on the line of the Caucasus. He was undoubtedly a brave and intelligent officer, but violent and impatient in his temper. He spoke Turkish fluently, and was in the habit of using the worst terms of abuse in that language; and it was this failing that led to his death. Some Chetchen and Lesghi prisoners having been taken by General Yermoloff, General Lesanowitch was appointed President of the Council assembled to try them; and according to his usual custom, he launched forth into threats and the foulest abuse of the prisoners, when one of them who had a concealed dagger sprang into the middle of the court, and stabbed General Lesanowitch and two other members, before he was himself overpowered and killed by the guard, a fate which was shared by all the other prisoners.

The loyalty of Mehdee Khan did not ultimately save him from the suspicions of General Yermoloff and the intrigues of General Madatoff, whose family had formerly been the servants of his father Abraham Khan. A false accusation of intriguing

with Persia was brought against him, and he was obliged to fly to that country. This happened about the year 1820, when Russia was at peace with Persia, her government in Georgia fully established, and such an attempt was as contrary to the interest, as it would have been to the character, of Mehdee Khan, whose former conduct ought to have preserved him from such suspicions.

CHAP. IV.

GENERAL GOUDOWITCH.—WAR WITH PERSIA.—THE RUSSIANS INVEST ERIVAN.—THEY ARE REPULSED.—MISSIONS OF SIR HARFORD JONES AND SIR J. MALCOLM.—PERSIAN EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.—ABBAS MIRZA.—MAHOMED ALI MIRZA.—WANT OF CONCERT IN THE PERSIAN ARMIES.—DREAM OF THE KING.—SIR GORE OUSELEY.—ENGLISH OFFICERS.—MEGERI.—INSUBORDINATION OF THE PERSIANS.—ILL-WILL BETWEEN THE PERSIANS AND THEIR TURKISH ALLIES.—ABBAS MIRZA'S RIDICULOUS EXPEDITION.—CAPTAIN CHRISTIE.—LIEUTENANT LINDESAY.—MARQUIS PALUCCI.—SUCCESSFUL ATTACK OF THE PERSIANS.—IMPROVEMENT OF THE PERSIAN ARMY.—RECALL OF GENERAL GOUDOWITCH.—AKHISKA.—UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT OF THE RUSSIANS.—RECALL OF GENERAL TERMASOFF.—MARQUIS PALUCCI APPOINTED.—REVOLTS IN THE CASPIAN PROVINCES.—ALEXANDER MIRZA, SON OF HERAKLIUS—HIS MISFORTUNES—HIS WANDERINGS—FIDELITY AND HOSPITALITY OF THE MOUNTAIN TRIBES—HIS ADVENTUROUS ESCAPE—HIS SUBSEQUENT LIFE.—PERSIAN ARMY.—MAJORS STONE AND D'ARCY.—DEPARTURE OF SIR HARFORD JONES.—SUCCESS OF THE PERSIANS.—GENERAL KUTLEROUSKY—TAKES AKHALKALAK BY ASSAULT.—CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF ENGLAND.—MOST OF THE ENGLISH OFFICERS WITHDRAWN.—DARING ACTION OF CAPT. LINDESAY.—ACTION AT ASLANDOOSE.—DESPERATE VALOUR OF MAJOR CHRISTIE—HIS DEATH—AND CHARACTER.—LANKERAN.—KUTLEROUSKY DISABLED.—INCOMPETENCY OF HUSSEIN KHAN.—TREATY OF GULISTAN.—UNPOPULAR BOTH IN RUSSIA AND PERSIA.—GENERAL YERMOLOFF AMBASSADOR TO PERSIA.—DISSATISFACTION IN PERSIA.—POLITENESS AND HOSPITALITY OF THE PERSIANS.—RUDE CONDUCT OF THE RUSSIANS.—MIRZA BAZURG.—MODIFICATION OF THE TREATY WITH ENGLAND.

AFTER the death of Prince Sesianoff nothing was undertaken for some time, and General Goudowitch, who had long been employed both in Georgia and on the line of the Caucasus, was appointed to succeed that able and energetic officer. The task of the new Governor-General was not an easy one; the Russian army beyond the Caucasus consisted of 20,000 troops,— perhaps it may have amounted to 30,000 or 35,000 men of all arms, including some active militia; but on many of the irregulars little dependence could be placed, and a Turkish war was daily expected. The possession of Erivan and Nackshiwan had given Persia great facilities for offensive operations, and also afforded her the means of co-operating with the Turkish army, then assembling at Erzeroum and Kars. The Persians had improved their army: a considerable body of regular infantry to the number of nearly 15,000 men were assembled, and had been instructed in the first rudiments of discipline by the French officers attached to General Gardanne's embassy: some cannon also were cast, and mounted, and, though far from perfect, they were very superior to anything that had hitherto accompanied the Persian force.

In June 1807 the Seraskier Hadji Yusuf Pasha advanced from Kars towards Gumri, and the

Persian army under Abbas Mirza marched to join him; but the hatred entertained for each other by these hitherto hostile nations rendered any cordial co-operation impossible; and the Seraskier, who would neither await the arrival of the Prince Royal nor listen to his advice, was totally defeated by General Goudowitch at the village of Tickniss. The Persian army did advance to the banks of the Arpa Chie, but only to witness the flight and dispersion of the Turks; after which they retired to a camp near Outch Kelisea.

General Goudowitch attempted to enter into negotiations with Persia, both directly, and indirectly through the agency of the French ambassador; but it was evident from the tone adopted by both parties that peace was impossible, and that the attempt had only been made on the part of Russia for the purpose of gaining time. In the meanwhile the season for active operations passed away, and no actual resumption of hostilities took place till the following year. The Turkish army having dispersed, and there appearing no probability of its being speedily reorganised, General Goudowitch was relieved from all apprehension on that frontier, and therefore determined on attempting at once the siege of Erivan. The small battering

train attached to the Georgian army, consisting of four 24-pounders, two 12-pounders, and two 8-inch mortars, with a sufficient supply of ammunition, was gradually brought forward to Gumri, and in the month of September the Russians advanced towards Erivan, at the same time that a body of about 3000 men occupied Nackshiwan. The main body under the commander-in-chief consisted of about 8000 men of all arms; and a moveable camp of about 10,000 Persians held the plain, and harassed the Russian communications. In the month of October the Russians invested the castle of Erivan, which had a numerous garrison, and was well supplied with stores and provisions; but the old Turkish guns were generally unserviceable and dismounted. The fortifications have been already described; and though the place was not calculated to resist a regular siege by a well equipped army, it might be considered perfectly secure against such a force as that now brought against it by the Russians. The points of attack did not appear to me well chosen, and they were changed more than once.

General Goudowitch detached a force under General Portnagene, to drive off the Persian covering force, encamped twenty-five miles off on the banks of the Arras, from whence they impeded his opera-

tions. The Russians made a forced night march; but the Persians appear to have had early intelligence of the proposed attack, for when General Portnagene reached the place, the camp had been struck, and the troops, which were almost all cavalry, were drawn up on the plain. The general attempted a charge of cavalry with his regiment of heavy dragoons, but was deceived by the apparent flight of the enemy, who quickly rallied and surrounded his troops, many of whom fell from the fire of their active opponents: it was exactly the manœuvre so often described in ancient history as the Parthian mode of fighting. The dragoons dismounted and formed into squares, and were soon relieved by the infantry and artillery, when the Persian force retired beyond the Arras, and did not offer any further molestation during the siege.

By the $\frac{\text{28th Nov.}}{\text{10th Dec.}}$* two imperfect breaches had been opened, and the firing continued till the 15th, when a general assault took place, and an attempt

* The difference of date is that of the New and Old Styles. In future the New only will be given, which can always be reduced to the one used in the country by the subtraction of twelve days. The Old Style is always used in Russia.

was made to force the gates and escalade the walls. The Russians were repulsed at every point; about 1500 men were killed, and nothing remained for them but an immediate retreat to the Russian frontier,— the force which had occupied Nackshiwan retiring at the same time. Not above 5000 of the troops who had besieged Erivan ever reached Gumri, and those were in a state of extreme destitution; but happily for them the Persian army had as usual dispersed for the winter, and was consequently unable to take advantage of their helpless condition. The Persians were greatly elated by the repulse of the Russian army before Erivan, and the most exaggerated accounts of the exploit were circulated all over the country.

England had now begun to turn her attention towards Persia, and the different missions of Sir Harford Jones and Sir John Malcolm were despatched to the court of Teheran. Sir Harford Jones arrived in Persia in September 1808, and after some negotiations was received by the King in March 1809, when he succeeded in procuring the dismissal of General Gardanne's mission. A preliminary treaty was also concluded, by which the British government engaged to pay an

annual subsidy of 120,000*l.* to Persia, and to furnish 20,000 stand of arms and twenty pieces of artillery, with stores. Mr. Morier carried the treaty to England, and Mirza Abul Hussein Khan was appointed ambassador at the British court. Sir Harford Jones then took up his residence at Tabreez with Abbas Mirza, to whom the government of Azerdbijan and the conduct of the war was entrusted, aided by Mirza Essai (commonly called Mirza Bazurg), the ablest and most upright of all the Persian ministers.

The army of Azerdbijan amounted to 20,000 cavalry, 6000 regular infantry, who had been embodied and partly drilled by the officers of General Gardanne's mission, and 10,000 irregular foot, forming the garrisons of the different towns. The influence of the British government was now firmly established, and it was determined to carry the regular infantry of Azerdbijan up to 12,000 men, for which purpose the British subsidy would suffice. The Persians, too, emboldened by their success at Erivan, and encouraged by the apparent dissatisfaction existing in the provinces occupied by Russia, determined to make greater efforts than usual for a general attack upon Georgia. The King moved from Teheran early

in May, directing his eldest son Mahomed Ali Mirza, to join him with the army of the Bagdad frontier. This prince was the eldest son of Futteh Ali Shah, but not his acknowledged successor, Abbas Mirza having been named as his heir*: he addressed his two sons, however, as rival candidates to the throne, and said he expected to see which of them would prove himself most worthy of it. Mahomed Ali Mirza's army consisted entirely of the old Persian troops, who looked upon the introduction of the new system with jealousy and dislike. There were neither regular infantry nor artillery among them, while Abbas Mirza's army was provided with both. In numerical strength they were about equal, each reckoning about 25,000 men; and the rivalry between the two camps was excessive, leading to frequent contests, which even the presence of the King could not always restrain. Both armies marched towards Erivan, but at some days' interval. Mahomed Ali Mirza was to make an attempt on Tiflis, and if not successful, was to join Abbas Mirza, who intended attacking Ganja and

* Abbas Mirza's mother was a lady of high rank and of the royal tribe, while the mother of Mahomed Ali Mirza was a Georgian slave.

Kara Baug. Mahomed Ali Mirza succeeded in anticipating the Russians in the passes of the mountains near Lori, and entered the plain of the Ghram or Kodi, where he surprised several villages belonging to the Mahomedan tribes of Dummerchie Husseinloo (or Hussein the Blacksmith) and many others: the inhabitants were either slaughtered or driven into slavery, and a great quantity of booty carried off by the troops. The prince did not venture to attack Tiflis, but proceeded towards Ganja: and on the road thither he fell in with a Russian detachment of 1200 infantry and 4 guns, and directed a simultaneous attack to be made on all sides, feeling himself certain of success. He was, however, mistaken; for he met everywhere with a steady resistance, and failed to make any impression on the enemy; his soldiers, also, were encumbered with the plunder they had collected, and moved towards Erivan, which they reached with little loss, after having done much mischief to the country, plundering in every direction up to the very gates of Tiflis.

Abbas Mirza was not so fortunate. It had been agreed that he was to march direct to Ganja, where it was naturally supposed the Russians

would collect their forces to oppose him, and thus enable Mahomed Ali to make his attack on the rear of General Termasoff, who had succeeded on the removal of General Goudowitch on account of his failure at Erivan. But the elder brother would submit to no control, and by prematurely advancing he compromised both armies. Abbas Mirza's route lay through the country of the great tribe of the Casaks*, which is extremely strong and thickly wooded. The Persian commander had evidently been deceived in the idea that the feeling of the tribe was hostile to Russia, for his army was surrounded by them, and some Russians at Ashak Midan (the plain of Asses); and had the enemy acted with vigour the Persian troops would have had great difficulty in extricating themselves; but some of the Casaks are said to have been bribed. The king purchased the greater part of the Mahomedan prisoners taken by Mahomed Ali Mirza's men, and restored them to their families or enabled them to settle

* These have no connection with the Russian Cossacks. They are descended from men of the Kirgis Casaks, left by Genghis Khan, and are Mahomedans of the Soonnie sect. They are frequently called Kara Papaks, from wearing black sheep-skin caps.

at Erivan. He also despatched Peer Kouli Khan to Kara Baug, to prevent the Russians from sending troops to Ganja: and it is curious enough that he was induced to take this precaution in consequence of a dream in which he saw Abbas Mirza in danger; he consulted the astrologers on the subject, and on their report despatched, as related above, a detachment to Kara Baug, while he himself moved towards the Arras. Nothing further, however, was attempted this season, and the Persian army dispersed as usual at the approach of winter.

The singular spectacle was now exhibited at the court of Persia of two missions from the same nation pursuing different objects. It was an unfortunate mistake, but which happily did not lead to any bad consequences. The French mission having been dismissed and a Persian ambassador despatched to London with a preliminary treaty, the object of Sir John Malcolm's mission was done away with, and he gave all the assistance in his power to Sir Harford Jones. Such officers as were required were made over to Sir Harford, and Sir John Malcolm returned to India. The King of Persia wished to retain Sir John as commander-in-chief of his army,

an arrangement which would probably have been attended with great results; but Sir John did not consider himself anthorised to accede to his request, especially as it was not very strongly urged. News soon arrived that the preliminary treaty had been ratified and Sir Gore Ouseley appointed ambassador extraordinary, and that the mission was in future to be conducted solely under the orders of the British government.

Sir John Malcolm was received with the highest honour by the King, both at the camp of Sultanieh and at Oudjan; and he (the King) expressed his regret that circumstances should deprive him of the services of so able an officer, and one who had given him so much satisfaction on his former mission.

During Sir John Malcolm's stay at Tabreez, Lieutenant M'Donald and myself, then a second lieutenant of engineers, were sent to Megeri, a post occupied by the Russians on the banks of the Arras, in the district of Kara Baug, and which completed the entire possession of that province by Russia. This part of Kara Baug is so difficult of access that no attention had been paid to the few inhabited Armenian villages still remaining there; for the roads leading from this point into

Persia are the last that would be selected for military operations.

The valley of Megeri is one of the most beautiful in Persia, or indeed in any country, and in former times has evidently been densely peopled; for churches, abandoned but still perfect, are thickly scattered on the slopes of the mountains, which here rise to a height on the western side of 8000 to 10,000 feet, covered with forests. The trees are of no great size, and much interspersed with apple, pear, and walnut, probably the remains of former gardens, or produced by seeds carried by the birds and wind into the once cultivated land. A rapid clear stream of considerable size runs through this romantic glen, which is about 800 yards broad where the villages of Great and Little Megeri are situated, the whole space being filled with small enclosed gardens, surrounded by vines. The Russians had taken possession of the larger village on the north side; the Persians occupied Little Megeri; both villages are about half a mile from the Arras, here a rapid foaming torrent, fordable only in one place, about a mile and a half farther up the river.

When Lieutenant M'Donald and myself arrived, the Persians were keeping up a continual and

perfectly useless fire, which was not returned, on the Russian posts. There appeared no discipline or control among the men, who were the most insubordinate of the frontier tribes; and when warned by Mirza Hussein, the son of the minister, that they would be punished if they continued to waste their ammunition, he was only answered by some shots fired into his own quarters.

During the time we were at Megeri, a considerable convoy, but slightly guarded, made its appearance at the entrance of the valley. Lieutenant M'Donald proposed to attack them, the ground being favourable for the purpose; and a tumultuous council appeared to be held, loud cries being uttered for and against the measure: but the attack did not take place, and 500 men who had volunteered to go with us were not permitted to do so. From the circumstance that the Russians were sending stronger bodies of men than usual to the outposts, and also from their breaking through some of the enclosures, we warned the Persian officers that they might expect an attack; however, no attention was paid to our advice, and finding no good was to be done, we returned to Tabreez: but the event proved just as we had prognosticated; for on the fourth day after our departure Colonel

Kutlerousky, who had already distinguished himself so greatly at Sha Boulak, crossed the valley during the night, and surprised the Persians, who fled with considerable loss across the Arras. They were probably only saved from entire destruction by the fact of Kutlerousky's having been severely wounded, for the Russians were in possession of the best and shortest road to the ford.

Lieutenant M'Donald (since Sir J. M'Donald Kinneir) returned with the mission of Sir John Malcolm, who shortly afterwards proceeded by Bagdad to India, whilst I remained in Persia.

The Persians had formed no particular plan for a campaign; but in the end of August the Prince Royal's army assembled at Nackshiwan, and that of the Turks mustered at Kars. There was but little prospect at any time of much cordial co-operation; but even the prospect, faint as it might have been, was now destroyed by an accident, which shows how slight are the ties which bind Oriental armies together. According to the usual custom on the arrival of any great personage, there was a display of horsemanship and skirmishing, and the Seraskier appears to have become excited as the play proceeded, and to have joined in the exhibition. By some accident his pistol, which had before missed

fire, went off as he was handing it to one of his guards, and the Pasha was wounded severely in the head. Abbas Mirza sent his English surgeon (Dr. Campbell), with compliments of condolence and offers of assistance, which were refused in no very courteous manner; and the Turkish army retired, and partly separated. Among the Persians the accident appeared to me to cause more merriment than regret.

Abbas Mirza, by moving to Erivan, prevented the Russians from taking advantage of the confusion in the Turkish camp; and after some negotiations with the Turks, he ordered Hussein Khan, the Sirdar of Erivan, to proceed to Akhiska, and co-operate in any measures the Pasha of that province might be inclined to adopt. He himself moved towards the small Russian fort of Hummumloo, which was garrisoned by 300 infantry and 200 Armenian or Georgian irregulars, but carelessly intrenched, and with only two guns mounted on a mound of earth near the village. This place was certainly not capable of much defence; but never was expedition so ill planned as that by which he proposed taking it. He informed Captain Christie and Lieutenant Lindesay that everything depended upon celerity of movement; he therefore could not follow their

advice of advancing in regular marching order; but that exertions must be made to bring up the two horse-artillery guns (3-pounders), manned by a detachment of the Madras Native Horse Artillery. No other men were placed under their command, not even a general point of rendezvous was fixed upon, but each body was left to move according to its own inclination. The distance was fifty miles, along the whole of which were scattered parties of stragglers, some of them only leaving the camp while the foremost were actually engaged with the enemy. The horse were easily repulsed by the fire from the guns and the infantry, while Abbas Mirza continued to urge on his men, as they came straggling up. In the meantime the small English party had reached the head of the pass leading from Aberan to the valley of Pembek, where they encountered a violent storm of wind and snow, much felt by the Indian gunners, who nevertheless were neither disabled nor rendered inefficient. Here two roads separated. The English had not even been provided with a guide, and the detachment got entangled in a swamp, out of which great exertion was required to extricate the guns: at last they succeeded, and got within five miles of the Russian post, when they met Abbas Mirza on his return, and in a very

bad humour; he told them, as they had not arrived in time, they might go back, which they accordingly did, and the army reassembled in the camp at Erivan, after the most ridiculous exhibition probably ever afforded by a military body.

When the Sirdar Hussein Khan arrived to join the Turks*, he found they did not appear much inclined to prosecute the expedition into Georgia; and, to avoid disputes between the two armies, the Persian camp was pitched at some distance. The people of Akhiska were generally supposed to have sent information to the Russians of the exact position of their allies, though the utter want of precautions on the side of the Persians was sufficient to account for every disaster that could possibly occur. Be it as it may, the Persian camp was surprised by Marquis Palucci†, and completely dispersed with the loss of tents and baggage,— the Turks expressing but little sympathy for the distress of their allies, and appearing not sorry to be relieved of their presence. The casualties were fewer than might have been expected, probably because the Russians did not like to venture very

* The author accompanied this party.

† The right wing escaped without loss, the artillery and some men were kept under arms all night.

near the Turkish army; they therefore quickly retired, unmolested by the people or troops of Akhiska.

Although the Persians were almost uniformly unsuccessful during the campaign, they had suffered more in character than in actual loss: there was, however, one exception to the generally disastrous results of their operations, in an attack they made upon a small post occupied by a company of Russians near Hummumloo. A marriage had, fortunately for the assailants, taken place in the village, so that a number of the Russians were in the church at the time of the attack; these alone escaped; the rest to the number of forty were killed; many of the peasants were massacred, and the women carried off, including the bride, whose melancholy history is related by Mr. Morier, in the adventures of Hajji Baba. At the conclusion of the campaign the Persians, as usual, dispersed, and returned to their homes.

In consequence of the representations of Sir Harford Jones, Abbas Mirza now began to pay serious attention to the condition of his army. The men among the Persian artillery who were fit for service were retained; and recruits were raised to form two troops of horse artillery, for which twelve

guns, with the necessary troops and ammunition, had arrived from India. Lieut. Lindesay (afterwards Sir H. Bethune) brought this corps in the course of the winter into a state of great efficiency, the Persians showing much alacrity in their military exercises: these were the only men as yet placed under the British officers, with the exception of a battalion of infantry from the tribe of Shekaki. It was not thought advisable to meddle with the remainder of the troops until the arrival of several detachments of officers and sergeants, now expected from India; and in the meanwhile they received new arms, and their equipment was greatly improved. We must now return to the Russian army.

It appears to be the invariable custom in Russia that any officer who fails in an enterprise should be immediately displaced, and accordingly General Goudowitch was superseded by General Termasoff, on account of his failure before Erivan, though he had greatly distinguished himself on many former occasions.

The new commander resolved to lay siege to Akhiska, from whence the marauders and slave-dealers made constant irruptions into Georgia; and he commenced his march with all the disposable

force under his command, in January 1811. The city is the capital of a small pashalik, and contained then about 5000 inhabitants, the bravest but the most abandoned ruffians in the Turkish army. They are of Georgian descent, and many of them still use the language of their forefathers, who embraced Mahomedanism when Georgia was conquered by the Turks. In addition to the regular inhabitants of Akhiska, large bands of freebooters from every quarter were in the habit of congregating there, especially the men of Adschara, Lazi, and the Lesghis of Daghestan; and all subsisted principally upon the plunder of Georgia, from whence about 3000 slaves were annually sold. The town is open, and defended by a small castle, the residence of the Pasha and his immediate dependents. The Russians could make no impression upon the streets, which were barricaded; and they were repulsed with great loss by the inhabitants in a sortie, in which about 1500 men perished. The Russians do not appear to have had a chance of success; but they were not pursued, and regained Tiflis without further molestation: and then General Termasoff was in his turn recalled, and the Marquis Palucci appointed in his place.

The provinces on the Caspian Sea had now begun to show symptoms of hostility to Russia, and Sheikh Ali Khan, who had been expelled from Derbend, with the assistance of the great Lesghi tribes of Akouscha and Awar, succeeded in raising an insurrection in Kuba and Lower Daghestan. The spirit of revolt also appeared in Kakhetia, the most warlike province of Georgia. Here the insurrection was headed by Alexander Mirza, a son of Heraklius, who received some money from Persia, and the assistance of several of the Caucasian tribes. The affairs of Russia appeared at that time in a very precarious state, and great disasters would undoubtedly have been the consequence of any vigorous efforts on the side of Persia, but nothing serious was attempted on her part. The Marquis Palucci lost no time in attacking the rebels. His first efforts were directed against Kuba, from whence he expelled Sheikh Ali Khan, pursuing him into the provinces of Akouscha and Awar. A nominal submission was made by these two tribes, and Sheikh Ali Khan became a wanderer in the Caucasus.

In Kakhetia for some time the rebels made a formidable resistance, and at first gained some advantages over the Russian troops, but at last they

sustained a decisive defeat near Shellida, a Georgian village on the Alizan river. The Lesghis separated from the Georgian force, and Alexander Mirza, finding it impossible to raise the means of paying his Caucasian auxiliaries, was reduced to consent to their carrying off Georgian slaves. The Georgian army was disbanded, and the prince obliged to take refuge among the different tribes of the mountains; but though frequently tracked and followed by the Russians, he was sheltered and supported with a fidelity equal to that of the Highlanders towards Charles Edward under similar circumstances after the battle of Culloden. He first found protection in Kasi Koumeck; but that district lying too near the Russians for him to continue there in safety, he removed to the Dido, the highest habitable part of the Caucasus. The poor people of this district not only steadily refused all offers to betray him, but cheerfully furnished him with the means of support, as long as they had anything to give; and when everything else was exhausted, they even sold for his sake their right of pasture on the south side of their mountains. The prince sought shelter with equal success among the tribes on the north side, and resided for nearly two years among the Kistians and Chetchens,

who set at defiance all the threats of Russia; but tired at last of living on the hospitality of these people, who could be of no service to him in regaining his throne, he again crossed the Caucasus, and determined to make his escape into Persia by whatever route might offer the best hopes of success. After incurring great danger of being taken by the Georgian tribes of Pschau and Gifshur, which had always entertained hostile feelings towards him, he at last succeeded in reaching the forests of the republics of Balikan, and Jar, where he received all the aid that could be secretly afforded him, although the people were nominally subject to Russia. Information had been, however, received that the prince was in the neighbourhood; the guards were augmented, great vigilance on all points was enforced, and the Russian government demanded from the States of Balikan and Jar that the prince should be arrested: the people had, however, no inclination to obey this mandate; the fugitive found concealment among the thick and extensive forests, and provisions were secretly placed within his reach. When circumstances obliged him to approach any inhabited spot, the Russians only received information of it after he had disappeared and was again

out of danger. Finding, however, that by remaining longer in the neighbourhood, he was likely to bring destruction upon his friends, he determined to make his escape through the midst of his enemies. Leaving the forests as soon as it was dusk, he rode rapidly with fifty followers to a part of the river Kur which was deep and not fordable, as being the least exposed to suspicion; while the means of crossing were secured to him by a number of empty wine-skins, sufficient, when inflated, to form a raft, which were concealed among the bushes on the banks of the river. The passage had not been effected before the day broke, and a Russian patrol then appeared to have fallen upon their track; but their attention was diverted by the sound of firing in a neighbouring thicket, to which they immediately proceeded and found what appeared to be a hunting party of Lesghis; for some deer were hanging in the trees, and they were well supplied with bouza, a spirit of a most intoxicating quality, and which has the effect of almost immediately stupefying those who partake of it. With apparently the free hospitality of the forest, they offered some of their cheer to the patrol; and in the meantime a thick fog providentially rose, and the Georgian party crossed the river, and found concealment

among the reeds and thickets on the opposite side. From thence they made their way in small groups of four or five, reuniting at the points where provisions had been deposited by their Georgian friends, — the usual places for these deposits being ruined villages or abandoned churches. They were obliged to avoid all inhabited places, the population of these districts being either Armenians or Mahomedan subjects of Russia, who had been lately plundered by a force from Erivan. The Georgians encountered but few people, and those whom they did meet they either forced to accompany them or were obliged to kill in self-defence: finally, the whole party reached Erivan.

This was the last attempt made by the son of Heraklius to regain the throne of his ancestors. His claim rested solely upon the circumstance of his having been invested with the title by the King of Persia, who had never possessed the country, and whose own family had only recently succeeded in gaining the Persian throne. But like all successions in Asia, it had to be decided by the sword, and the sword gave it against both Alexander Mirza and the Shah. From the latter the prince received a pension of about 2000*l.* a year, for himself and followers, besides some villages in the district of Salmas.

In the character of this Prince there was no romance, enterprise, or even energy; but few men have had more remarkable or more trying difficulties to encounter. When very young his father had entrusted him with the government of Soumketia, and married him to the daughter of a Circassian chief, who entertained hopes that Heraklius would have permitted him to leave the Russian frontier, and settle on the waste lands of Upper Georgia; but the Georgian ruler never could get over his fear of having a Mahomedan and stranger tribe so near the Turkish frontier of Akhiska, with which it would probably eventually unite.

Alexander Mirza's Circassian wife died two years after her marriage; but the connection with the tribe did not entirely cease, for a body of Circassian cavalry was among the troops under the Prince's command, and accompanied him in his flight across the Caucasus, when he was escaping from Agha Mahomed Shah. He never shrank from danger or fatigue, indeed he appeared insensible to both; and though he seemed to be completely in the hands of his followers, he certainly succeeded in restraining these fierce and turbulent men, so that I never remember

to have heard of any disturbance among them. In his own person he was sober, and given to no excesses. He was born in 1770, and if still alive, no doubt continues a pensioner on the Persian court. He never showed any pride of birth, nor did he give way to useless regrets for the loss of his fortune and princely dignity, though he had no hesitation in talking of his adventures, or giving any information that was asked for concerning them. Still I never was able to get a connected account of all that had befallen him, though I made many attempts at it: the fact was that the Prince and his secretary were not always disposed to translate from Georgian, the language they habitually spoke, into Turkish, in which alone they could converse with me; and this occasioned a difficulty in bringing the subject forward. His Caucasian adventures alone would have filled two moderately sized volumes.

By the exertions of Sir Harford Jones the infantry of Azerdbijan had been increased to 12 battalions, one only of which was placed under the command of an English officer, Lieutenant Christie; 14 pieces of artillery were efficiently horsed and equipped; an arsenal and gun-carriage

manufactory, under English superintendence, were brought to the necessary degree of perfection; the whole army was well clothed; and nothing but an efficient commander-in-chief was required to render the army then sent into the field superior to anything the Russians could oppose to it. Unfortunately all these advantages were neutralised by the total want of military talent in Abbas Mirza and his chiefs, not one of whom was capable of commanding in action or of forming a consistent plan of operations. There was no fanatic pride as in Turkey, to cause opposition to European command or discipline; on the contrary, the Persian troops showed a decided preference for being commanded by English officers, notwithstanding the efforts to the contrary of their own native officers, whom there was no difficulty in getting turned out of the army immediately on their becoming the least troublesome. The drill had not as yet been changed from the French to the English mode, owing to the circumstance that up to this time a sufficient number of officers and non-commissioned officers had not arrived to render it possible; nor was it in fact of any consequence: the thing to be desired, was that English officers

should take the command, and lead the men into action. This, however, was not possible: there was perhaps no European officer to whom the King of Persia would willingly have entrusted the entire command of his army except Sir John Malcolm, and to his appointment there would not have been a dissenting voice. Majors Stone and D'Aroy, from the Royal Artillery, were excellent officers, but could not at once enjoy a sufficient degree of consideration to warrant so high an office being conferred upon them; and the childish and ridiculous councils sometimes held did not raise the character of the military proceedings. Even had the ambassador been a military officer of rank, a commander-in-chief would still have been indispensable.

In the spring Sir Harford Jones took his departure, to the great regret of the Persian court, and after having performed most ably and successfully the difficult task assigned to him, of obtaining the dismissal of the French ambassador, at the time when Napoleon was at the zenith of his power. Sir Gore Ouseley had not arrived when the Persian army took the field; not that they had the intention of commencing any hostile operations, but it is the custom of the country

that all the troops shall assemble for forage, and exercise in standing camps, where all the comforts of a town are enjoyed. The fortifications of Khoey were meanwhile rapidly progressing, and Abbas Abad had been rendered capable of defence according to the plan traced out by Captain Lamie, a French officer of great talent, by which the Persians obtained a strong position for the support of Erivan. Several minor field-works were constructed close to the most exposed roads; and when in the month of July the Persian army was assembled at Nackshiwan, Persia was in a better state of defence than she had ever been since the commencement of the war. The army shortly afterwards moved into Kara Baug, ostensibly with the intention of attacking some of the Russian forts, scattered throughout the country, but in reality for the purpose of bringing away some tribes of the Ilyats who were watched by the Russians; and they were so far successful that above 1000 families actually did return with the Persian force, which had occupied an intrenched position at Sesian. In September, the troops again returned to Nackshiwan; and the brigade under Captain Christie, with the horse artillery, were detached to Erivan, information having been received that

the Russian force on the frontier meditated an irruption; nor was the precaution unnecessary, for early in October General Lesanowitch advanced with three battalions and some horse, amounting altogether to about 2500 men; and 12 guns. Retaliation for the continual forays of the Persians appeared to be the object of the Russians, and many villages were destroyed by them. They generally marched during the night, and took up in the daytime strong covered positions. Upon two occasions the Persians had favourable opportunities for attacking their enemy, but they did not take advantage of them; and the Russians regained their frontier without a shot having been exchanged; while the Persian army, leaving a sufficient body of troops at Erivan to defend the fortress, returned to Tabreez, dispersing as usual for the winter.

Abbas Mirza now formed the resolution of making a more serious attack upon Kara Baug, as well for the purpose of bringing over some more Ilyat tribes, as with the object of destroying a post recently established by the Russians at Sultanboot, where they had a battalion of 800 infantry and 60 artillery. In pursuance of this design, the troops received orders, in January 1812, to

march by several routes to the entrance of the plain of Mogan; and owing to the representations of Colonel D'Arcy, the prince consented to take such measures as might ensure their all assembling on the same day at the spot decided upon for crossing the Arras. During a march of five days the route lay over high mountains, through regions covered with deep snow; but this neither stopped nor discouraged the men, and as they approached the river the weather again became settled, and temperate. Colonel D'Arcy was now entrusted with the command of the regular troops, which were formed into two columns, each consisting of three battalions, with six pieces of artillery. The Russians had no notice of this movement, though, from the depth of the bed of the river and the difficulties they had to encounter from the strength of the current, the Persian army took twenty-four hours to effect the passage. They now advanced directly on the post, which they would have surprised, had it not been for the advance of some Persian horse several miles beyond the main body. Two companies of Russians were thrown out to drive off what was considered a Persian foray; they were instantly

driven back with loss, and the Russians then became aware of the presence of the Persian army. The Russian intrenchments consisted only of hurdles with earth between them, forming a parapet of not above a foot thick, which afforded no protection against cannon-shot. The guns opened upon them, and did great execution: as a last resource, about 500 men made a sortie, and attempted to take the cannon; but, as may be supposed, they were repulsed and after some parleying, they consented to surrender. About 450 men marched out and grounded their arms; the Persians then destroyed the post, and brought away 2000 families of Ilyats, thus nearly depopulating this region of Kara Baug. As the Russians had no force at hand capable of molesting the Persian army; the Prince Royal slowly retraced his steps, and regained his capital, where the most active exertions were required to collect stores to replace those which had been expended and lost during this expedition.

This was the most important advantage that had been yet gained by the Persians, and it caused universal joy in the country. This vain and excitable people immediately began to talk of the certainty of driving the Russians out of Georgia,

and compelling them to retreat beyond the Caucasus, and almost felt apprehension lest the advance of Napoleon should compel their adversaries to retire at once, and thus deprive them of their anticipated victory. This, however, was far from their intention; for, notwithstanding the straits to which Russia appeared reduced, 18,000 recruits were actually despatched to the Caucasus, before Napoleon quitted Moscow.

As a set-off against the Persian successes, the Russians had succeeded in surprising the fortress of Akhalkalak, a position from whence continual predatory expeditions took place, greatly to the annoyance of Georgia. It is a stone-built castle of no great dimensions, flanked with towers, but commanded on every side by hills at the distance of only a few hundred yards; and the garrison consisted of about 600 banditti, whose families were seldom inside the fort. General Kutlerousky had been specially appointed to conduct this enterprise, and he carried it through with his usual courage and talent; marching from Gori through the forests, in spite of the snow which then lay deep in them, and assaulting the place at daylight. The walls were escaladed, and the outer gate was blown in; and as the inner one had not been

previously shut, and the ice prevented the possibility of its being afterwards closed, the garrison, were taken by surprise, and perished almost to a man.

In the month of August the Persian army again took the field, and a division was despatched to drive the Russians out of the district of Talisch, situated on the Caspian, and affording, from the position of the island of Sari, the best station for the Russian fleet. Mustapha Khan, the chief of the district, was a firm adherent of the Russians; but his feelings were not shared by his people, and they consequently offered little or no resistance to the Persian troops, as they passed through a difficult forest country intersected by swamps. The small Russian force fled from Lankeran to Sari, and Mustapha Khan retired to the peninsula of Gameshiwan. The small neck of land connecting it with the main was defended by a brick wall and towers, but was very feebly garrisoned; Ameer Khan, however, the uncle of Abbas Mirza, refused to attack these contemptible works, because the day was marked as *unlucky* in the Persian calendar. In vain did Major D'Arcy, Captain Lindesay, and M. Druville urge the necessity of an immediate assault; he was deaf to all remonstrances, and on the following day the Russian

party returned from Sari; two men-of-war brigs anchored so as to flank the isthmus; some gun-boats took post in the backwater or lake; and the favourable opportunity was lost. Even yet, though the difficulties had been much increased by the delay, the wall might have been escaladed, and the gates forced; but the Persian general still demurred, and nothing was done. Meanwhile the Russian ships kept up a continual fire upon their enemy's camp, though with little effect: the gun-boats attempted to fire from the backwater, but one of them was sunk, and the others retired and did not again appear. A strong field-work was constructed at Lankeran, and a garrison of 3000 or 4000 men, with four guns (12-pounders), were left to defend it; after which the British officers returned to the Persian camp established at Aslan-doose.

Meanwhile the policy of England had been entirely changed by the Emperor Napoleon's invasion of Russia; and the British Ambassador became as anxious to bring about peace as he had formerly been to push on the war. The English officers were withdrawn from the Persian army; and it was only at the earnest entreaty of Abbas Mirza that Captain Christie and Captain Lindesay

were permitted to remain in the camp, and myself with the Erivan force.

General Auristoff had now superseded Palucci as commander-in-chief, and advanced to Kara-Baug to treat; but the negotiations were soon broken off, and the demands of the Persians rejected. The suspension of hostilities, however, short as it was, was of essential service to the Russians, as it enabled the people on their territory to get in the harvest, which would otherwise have run a risk of being burnt or destroyed in the constant incursions of the Persian cavalry; and it also made it possible for them to suppress the revolt that had taken place in the province of Kakhetia.

Orders had been given to the British officers to quit the Persian camp, if any forward movement should take place; but Abbas Mirza assured the ambassador he had no intention of advancing, and it appeared improbable that the Russian general would attempt to attack the Persian army, which was five times as numerous as the Russian, supported by a superior artillery, and defended on this front by a deep and rapid river; the Persian cavalry, also, though not actually present, had merely been sent to convenient

stations for the sake of forage, and could be assembled in a few hours.

Deserters who came in reported that General Kutlerousky was in great fear of a Persian attack, and that he was intrenching his camp; and these accounts lulled the Persians into such perfect security that they not only obstinately refused to plant pickets along the river, but even withdrew those that had been posted by Major Christie; nor would they send patrols to the opposite bank of the Arras, assuring us that the Russians were trembling behind their lines, and that the general could not leave his tent without their being aware of it. But they were grievously deceived; for on the 27th of October, the Russian general marched to the banks of the Arras over a perfectly open country, without the Persians having received the slightest notice of his movements: he experienced great difficulty in crossing the river, and one of his guns, with the horses harnessed to it, was lost; but he succeeded in effecting a passage, and soon after 9 A. M. on the 30th of October, his troops were formed before the Persians who were encamped at the distance of only a mile and a half, had the slightest suspicion of his proceedings. So totally unprepared were they, that

Captain Lindesay had even been ordered to empty his limber-boxes to receive treasure which had been sent to pay the troops, and to proceed himself with all the mounted men that very morning to attend a hunting party beyond the Arras. He reached the point indicated before the prince, and had just dismounted his party, when he perceived a large body of men issuing from the brushwood in the bed of the river: though he could not imagine it to be the enemy, he immediately galloped back to the camp, and arrived there just as the head of the Russian column entered it. With great difficulty the guns were withdrawn, but they were without ammunition, nearly all the baggage and the arsenal stores having fallen into the hands of the enemy. Probably there is not a similar case on record; and it really hardly appears credible that an army situated as this was, should have allowed itself to be surprised at noon-day, with a deep and rapid river to defend it in front, while behind it was a plain extending for many miles without the slightest shelter to conceal an enemy, and covered by swarms of its own cavalry collecting forage and scattered over the whole face of the country. The brigade under Major Christie had already been withdrawn by him.

Abbas Mirza was riding about the camp almost in a state of distraction, giving orders, and countermanding them the next instant, — entreating Captain Lindesay to fire the guns, entirely forgetting there was no ammunition, and when he failed to comply, accusing him of cowardice or treachery. As may be supposed, this high-spirited officer was very indignant: "Let any of your Gholaums* accompany me," said he, "and we will see what ammunition can be saved." As only two of the guards volunteered to join him, he turned to his own men, and told off thirty of them, each being provided with a bag; and then was performed a feat of daring not to be surpassed in any army, and attended with a success and good fortune quite unparalleled. It is possible the Russians may have been deceived by the blue English jacket worn by the men, and have mistaken them for Cossacks; but be that as it may, they actually contrived to reach the artillery park, fill their bags with ammunition, and quit the camp on their return, before the suspicions of the Russians were aroused. Immediately they were recognised two companies of Russian Yagers were despatched to intercept them,

* Body-guard.

but their return was covered by some light infantry under Major Christie, which advanced to their succour, and they regained the Persian camp without the loss of a man, bringing with them some musket cartridges, and about 300 rounds of six-pound shot; the impossibility of distinguishing the boxes prevented their obtaining a larger supply.

It was now proposed to attack the Russians; and the Persian infantry, encouraged by the conduct of Major Christie's men, declared their willingness to do so. They were at first very successful; the Russians fell fast before their superior fire; and, when at last their ammunition began to fail and they charged them with the bayonet, the Russians turned, and fled in great disorder towards their main body.* Abbas Mirza, however, would still not venture upon vigorous measures; neither would he retire to a pass at the distance of a few miles, where he would have been secure. Deceived by the apparent hesitation of the Russians, and assured by his minister they were only waiting for the night to effect their retreat, he resolved to remain on the ground round the Hill of Timour.

* I was told the Russian commanding officer was afterwards shot.

The intentions of General Kutlerousky were, however, very different from those attributed to him by the Prince; and about midnight, leaving only a small party in camp, he descended the Kara Soo, marched round the Persian position, and, coming on its rear, attacked them from the side of Mogan.

The Persian troops, which had been massed round the Hill of Aslandoose *, began, in the darkness and confusion, to fire at each other. The attack had been so sudden and unexpected, that the English officers had only the choice of fighting on the side of the Persians, or of abandoning in a situation of great difficulty the prince who had entrusted the men to their charge, and, above all, the soldiers whom they had long commanded, and who were devoted to them; and they determined to run every risk, even that of disobedience to their orders, in preference to leaving the troops when actually engaged with the enemy. Major Christie was shot in the neck, and more than half the battalion he had raised and disciplined himself fell in the attempt to bring him off. The attempt was unsuccessful, but it afforded a noble proof of their attachment and devotion. Christie was discovered

* Lion's Plain, so called from a mound erected by Timour on the spot where a lion had been slain.

in the morning by a Russian party, who offered assistance; but he had determined never to be taken alive, and cut down the officer who attempted to raise him. A report was sent to General Kutlerousky that there was a wounded English officer who refused to surrender; orders were sent to disarm and secure him at all hazards. Christie, however, made a most desperate resistance, and is said to have killed six men before he was despatched, being shot by a Cossack.

Thus fell as brave an officer and amiable a man as ever existed. His great bodily strength was combined with perfect mildness of disposition, while his courage and kindness endeared him to the whole army, both English and Persians. The party of his own regiment who attempted to bring him off never appear to have entertained the slightest idea of abandoning him, and were found by Dr. Cormick, the English physician, clustering around where he lay. He declared, both before and during the action, his determination of standing by his men, saying that if he was to be brought to a court-martial, it should be for fighting, and not for running away; he also declared his firm resolve not to be taken prisoner, a determination he unfortunately adhered to. Dr. Cormick went to ascertain his fate as soon as the

Russians had left the camp; and his body was found, and buried near the spot where he fell.

Twelve out of fourteen English guns were taken by the Russians, having fallen into the unfinished intrenchments; but the artillery suffered less in men than any other part of the army; and Captain Lindesay rejoined the Prince Royal in the pass, where he had recommended the troops should re-assemble after the surprise of the camp. The state of the Russian provinces did not allow of the victory over the Persians being followed up; but a great point had been gained by them; for as all fear of a Persian invasion was for the present at an end, all their disposable forces could be directed against the revolted Georgians under Alexander Mirza, and against the Lesghis, who had made several inroads into the Russian provinces. Napoleon's expedition to Moscow does not appear to have made any alteration in the disposition of the army of the Caucasus, and nearly about the same time when Alexander Mirza and the Lesghis were totally defeated, the French commenced their disastrous retreat.

Russia's next object was to drive the Persians out of the post they had established at Lankeran, and reinstate Mustapha Khan in his government of

Talisch, and accordingly General Kutlerousky advanced through Mogan in the month of December, and was met on the great plain by a fine body of Kurdish cavalry. The Russians formed their three battalions into an *echelon* of squares, flanking each other; and the Kurds actually charged through the intervals, and made a desperate attack upon the infantry. They met with great loss, and the Russians continued their march without opposition to the entrance of the forests, where a body of irregular infantry was stationed, which had been entrusted by the King to the command of his Shater Bashi (head of the running footmen), a man who had never in his life carried anything but a white wand. It is not surprising therefore that he took to his heels, and never ceased running until he reached the capital.

On reaching Lankeran, General Kutlerousky slightly cannonaded the intrenchments; but finding his artillery inferior to that of the Persians, he resolved on an assault on the 12th of January. His first attack, however, was repulsed with such loss that it was considered impossible he should make a second attempt. The Persians abandoned their works, and busied themselves in cutting off the heads of the killed and wounded, by whom the ditch was

literally filled: Kutlerousky did make a second attempt, however, leading the assault himself; and the place was carried, and many of the Persians killed; but the advantages gained by the Russians were dearly purchased by the loss of their brave commander, the best officer in the Caucasian army. Kutlerousky was shot through the head, and though by a miracle he survived for some years, he never was fit for service again. Half of the Russian force was killed or disabled; the Persian loss amounted to 3000 men, including two battalions of infantry, and 100 artillery. Many of the irregular troops found their way back to Ghilan and Mazanderan, assisted by the people of the country, without whose aid not one of them would have got out of the forests of Talisch.

After the first panic had subsided, so that it was possible to ascertain the amount of the Persian losses, it was found that about one-third of the army had been disabled or taken prisoners; but the ranks were quickly filled up by new levies, and by the spring the army was as numerous as ever; whilst at the same time arms arrived from India, and a sufficient number of guns was provided by the foundry at Tabreez to double those that had been lost; but the *morale* of the

army was entirely changed, deprived as it was of the officers whom the soldiers had been accustomed to respect and obey.

In the months of March and April, 1813, the Russians made an irruption into the Erivan territory for the purpose of collecting provisions, and they laid waste sixty villages, carrying off about 500 cart-loads of grain and 30,000 sheep. The Persian troops were commanded by Hussein Khan, brother of the Sirdar, a most timid and incompetent chief, who allowed two favourable opportunities of attacking the enemy to pass, and harassed his troops until they were completely exhausted, by keeping them continually in motion night and day. I was at the time in command of a battery of six guns and some cavalry, when he sent me orders to retire from the ford of the Arras; but I refused to obey, as while I remained there the Russians could not cross the river without being under fire. Hussein then sent an order to the artillerymen to bring away the guns; they replied they only received orders from their own officers: the other troops, however, having fallen back, I thought it advisable to retire sufficiently to enable us to feed and rest our horses; orders to change our ground were even then sent us twice during the

night; but these orders too I thought fit to disregard, and by that means saved the men a march of twenty miles, for shortly afterwards Hussein Khan actually came with his own troops to the place where we were. Happily his brother the Sirdar, a brave and able soldier, soon arrived, and determined to attack the heavily laden convoy; though, as the Russians were enabled to take up a covered position for their carts, the Persians were repulsed, after an action of three hours: the Russians succeeded in carrying off the provisions, but with a loss of 250 men.

During the winter and spring negotiations were carried on through the British ambassador; an armistice was agreed upon, and the preliminary treaty of Gulistan was contracted in October, by which both parties were to retain the positions they then occupied.

This treaty, which was never supposed to be a definitive arrangement, was concluded principally through the mediation of England, and was as unpopular in Persia as in Russia. The latter power, notwithstanding the terrible struggle in which she was engaged with France, still continued not only to keep up, but to augment, her forces in Georgia; and although, by the terms of the treaty, a pros-

pect was held out of the restoration of some part of the Persian territory, Russia was evidently disappointed at not having been able to extend her conquests to the Arras; and Persia never had an idea that Talisch and Mogan, at least, would not have been restored. This feeling was so fully impressed on the British ambassador that, in an article of the definitive treaty *, he had engaged that the Indian government should continue the subsidy of 120,000*l.* a year, until Russia should have restored some portion of the Persian provinces; and in 1814 he proceeded to St. Petersburg, in hopes of inducing the British ambassador there to insist on some such measure; while Mirza Abul Hussein Khan, who had been employed as ambassador in England, was despatched to the Russian capital with the same object. The Russian government, however, remained deaf to all the decided and energetic remonstrances of Lord Walpole, then acting for Lord Cathcart; and on Lord Cathcart's return, he did not think it advisable to renew negotiations, which had entirely ceased on the part of England. Mirza Abul Hussein Khan returned to Persia very

* This treaty never was ratified.

much disappointed; and when the Russian minister asked him if he was not well satisfied with the attention and treatment he had received, he replied he owed no thanks to Russia and its government, except for their not having sent him to Siberia. The Emperor Alexander refused to conclude anything at St. Petersburg, but intimated his intention of despatching a special embassy to Persia, when he hoped matters would be satisfactorily arranged. This took place in 1814-15; but it was not until May 1817 that General Yermoloff, afterwards governor of Georgia, entered the Persian dominions as ambassador by Erivan. At Tabreez he refused to enter into any discussion with Abbas Mirza, and, after passing a short time in a country palace belonging to the Prince Royal, was received at the royal camp of Sultanieh on the 10th September. It soon became evident the negotiations would lead to no favourable result: the conferences lasted eleven days; but the ambassador constantly declared he had no orders to restore any part of the territory occupied by Russia; until Abbas Mirza, losing patience, observed to him, "Your mission appears to have had no object, except that of presenting us with some glass and china." In fact,

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these did constitute the most remarkable portion of the presents sent by Russia; but they were quite as valuable as those presented by the English embassy.

A great deal has been said concerning the splendour of the Russian mission, and of the great honours paid to it. The mission was as splendid as the occasion required, and the staff was numerous and well selected; but I doubt whether it had the same effect as that under Sir John Malcolm, whose presents were in money, and they were certainly as much valued as those of Russia.* The British mission, however, which took only such supplies as were necessary for the embassy, was far less expensive to Persia. The requisitions of the Russian embassy were without bounds, and greatly distressed the places they passed through. The demands for tea, sugar, coffee, wine, sweetmeats, and other articles only procurable in large towns, weighed heavily on the smaller cities and inferior governments; and no such articles entered into the list of supplies furnished to the British missions. A bad feeling was excited against the Russians,

* The jewels which were nominally presented were merely lent from the royal treasury, and were of course returned on an equivalent in money being received.

by the enormous supplies required, though the integrity of General Yermoloff personally was above suspicion; in fact, he was on principle economical and careful in his own expenses; and after holding his government for ten years, he left Georgia a poorer man than when he entered upon his office. Whatever faults he may have had, avarice and corruption were certainly not among them; still the impression made upon the Persians was unfavourable, and was increased by the excessive demands for cattle for the transport of the baggage.

The natural politeness and hospitality of the Persians caused the Russian mission indeed to be received with the utmost kindness, and Futteh Ali Shah and Abbas Mirza showed every desire to render the visit as agreeable as possible to the strangers; they could not, however, help being offended at the want of consideration evinced by the Russians, who persisted in entering their apartments with their boots on, and those often none of the cleanest; and, to mark their sense of their incivility, orders were given either to remove the good carpets, or to roll them up past the space occupied by the Russians, who were distinctly informed of the reason for these precautions. The members of

the English mission who remained at Tabreez met with every kindness and attention from General Yermoloff and his staff. Captain Kotzebue observes, in his account of the journey, that at the palace of Augan they saw a large painting, representing a victory gained by the Persians, and that a British officer was conspicuous in the foreground. He expresses his inability to imagine what event it was intended to commemorate. In large Persian characters was written, Capture of Sultanboot, January 1812. The British officer was Captain Lindesay, of the artillery; the circumstances of the affair have been already narrated.

Ever since the return of Mirza Abul Hussein Khan's embassy to St. Petersburg in 1815, Mirza Bazurg, the Persian prime minister, had declared that not only had Persia nothing to expect from the generosity or forbearance of Russia, but that further encroachments in that quarter were to be dreaded. Mirza Bazurg, according to the Russians, had the reputation of being both artful and avaricious; and the dislike existing between him and General Yermoloff was not unnatural, neither was it concealed. After some highly inflated and ridiculous compliments had been exchanged, Mirza Bazurg observed, "I perceive your Excellency is

a proficient in the art of court compliments, and in this the Persians cannot be exceeded by any people in the world. But as this is a mere waste of time, let us mutually agree to dispense with them, as we do in our relations with the English, and proceed to real business; we shall show respect to each other much more by dealing openly than by uttering compliments, which take time, and which no person in his senses believes."

General Yermoloff then inquired what was the cause of the great activity displayed in the repair of the fortifications, and the establishment of the Jaud, a religious corps then in progress of organisation in Abbas Mirza's government; the Persian minister at once replied, "To repel any further aggression attempted by your government, or any other State." * At the same time he declared their desire, if possible, to avoid war, and to look only for justice and self-defence.

In the meanwhile our own relations with Persia had undergone an entire change. The treaty concluded by Sir Gore Ouseley, and sent to England by his brother Sir William Ouseley, was never

* It was supposed Russia was endeavouring to embroil Turkey with Persia.

confirmed; it was acted upon for some time, but in 1814 was returned unratified by the British government; and Mr. afterwards Sir Henry Ellis, in conjunction with Mr. Morris, who had been left as minister plenipotentiary after the departure of Sir Gore Ouseley, was directed to get the article rescinded, which promised the continuance of a subsidy till some restitution was made to Persia; he was also to have the officers withdrawn who had been left to discipline the Persian troops. It was clear both these clauses, however necessary they might have been at the time the treaty was made, when we were at war with Russia, had become very inconvenient under our altered circumstances, as they might cause our being in a state of war with Russia on one point, whilst we were allies on the other.

CHAP V.

CHANGE OF RELATIONS WITH PERSIA.—GENERAL YERMOLOFF COMMANDS ON THE LINE OF THE CAUCASUS.—VEXATIOUS SYSTEM PURSUED BY THE RUSSIANS.—ACCOUNT OF THE CAUCASIAN TRIBES.—SONS OF THE CHIEFS RECEIVED IN THE MILITARY SCHOOLS.—ACHMET BEY.—CAMPAIGN IN THE CAUCASUS.—THE CHETCHENS.—THE LESGHIS—EXCELLENCE OF THEIR ARMS.—MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF CIRCASSIANS AND LESGHIS.—GENERAL WILLIAMINOFF.—BOMBASTIC PROCLAMATION.—ILL SUCCESS.—SAYING OF TIMOUR.—GENERAL YERMOLOFF—PLACES GUARDS ON THE PERSIAN TERRITORY.—KING OF PERSIA ANXIOUS TO AVOID WAR.—RELIGIOUS FANATICISM OF THE PERSIANS.—ARRIVAL OF PRINCE MENSCHIKOFF.—HOSTILITIES BETWEEN RUSSIA AND PERSIA.—RISING IN KARA BAUG.—PRINCE MENSCHIKOFF DETAINED AT ERIVAN—SET AT LIBERTY.—GANJA ABANDONED.—MASSACRE OF ARMENIANS.—GENERAL DIEBITSCH TO SUPERSEDE GENERAL YERMOLOFF.—GENERAL PASKIEWITCH.—ERIVAN INVESTED.—SIEGE RAISED.—UNHEALTHINESS.—SURRENDER OF ABBAS ABAD.—SUCCESS OF ABBAS MIRZA.—SIRDAR ABAD.—SIEGE OF ERIVAN—TAKEN BY ASSAULT.—DEFEAT OF ABBAS MIRZA.—CAPTURE OF TABREEZ.—AGHA MEER FUTTA.—CAUSE OF HIS TREACHERY.—THE KING'S ACCOUNT OF THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN THEM.—DESCRIPTION OF TABREEZ.—NEGOTIATIONS.—SIR JOHN MAC NEILL.—NEWS OF THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO.—PREPARATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS FOR WAR WITH TURKEY.—PROCRASTINATION OF THE TURKS.—POSITION OF BOTH PARTIES.

AFTER the retreat of the French from Moscow, the alliance of Russia became certainly far more

important to England than that of Persia could possibly be: at the same time something was due to Persia; for it must not be forgotten that the court of Teheran had consented to the dismissal of the French ambassador at the time when Napoleon was at the *acmé* of his power. The subsidies granted to Persia could not fail to exercise their full influence upon an avaricious sovereign like Futteh Ali Shah; but the successful issue of these delicate negotiations was principally owing to the admirable skill and tact displayed by Sir Harford Jones, who was fortunately aware of the article in the Treaty of Tilsit, by which Russia was at liberty to prosecute her conquests in Asia as far as she pleased. The treaty concluded by Sir Gore Ouseley, after being acted upon for two years, was left unratified, and a new one was concluded by Mr. Ellis and Mr. Morris, in virtue of which England continued bound to assist Persia in the event of aggression on the part of Russia or any other European nation; but these terms hardly satisfied Persia, as when the court of Teheran, at the suggestion of England, concluded a peace with Russia, it was under the expectation of a restoration of territory; an expectation which had

never been fulfilled. An English officer* was appointed to ascertain the limits of the respective countries; and Captains Hart and Lindsay were allowed to remain in charge of the artillery and infantry, under strict conditions that they should not be employed against any country at peace with England. The envoy was succeeded by a *chargé d'affaires*, Captain, now Sir H., Willock, and a number of French officers were taken into the Persian service. They, however, soon left Persia, and sought employment under Runjeet Singh, where a better prospect of fortune and distinction opened for them. Some few at first joined Mahomed Ali Mirza at Kermanshah, and the Persians attributed to them their successes on the Bagdad frontier; but on the death of that prince the majority of them went to the Punjaub.

On General Yermoloff's taking charge of the line of the Caucasus and the southern provinces, Russia and Persia were at peace, — the Russian army having little to do beyond repelling the occasional attacks of the mountaineers. The new Governor-General took advantage of this state of affairs to improve the internal economy of the

* The Author.

troops, and turned his attention towards providing good hospitals and barracks, both of which were greatly needed. Some of these works were of a high order; they were entirely constructed by the soldiers, who also cultivated enclosed gardens, and even had pasturage for sheep and cattle attached to their quarters. It was soon found that the Transcaucasian provinces were capable of supplying provisions for the army in quantities far exceeding its wants; and the only difficulty which had to be encountered arose out of the preference of the Russian soldiers for their national black bread, made of rye flour,—a preference that would, no doubt, soon have yielded to the use of better food. At the same time the roads and communications were brought into a practicable state; and, so far as the interests of the army were concerned, all the measures adopted were of the most admirable character. We cannot say as much for the system pursued towards the population in general, for nothing could be more tyrannical than the manner in which they were treated, whether Christians or Mahomedans; of the two the yoke lay heavier upon the latter, who, from one extremity of the country to the other, seized the first opportunity to revolt. Nor is this to be wondered at;

officers travelling through the provinces were allowed to beat and otherwise ill-use the people at their pleasure, and their example was followed by all the Russians, whether civil or military, of whatever rank—Prince Gortschakoff, to his honour, forming almost the solitary exception to the general rule. He always protected the people, maintained strict discipline in the Black Sea provinces, and punished with great severity any outrage and oppression committed by the Russians. A new regulation too had been promulgated, by which no one, not even the peasantry, could travel from one village to another without a pass. This was a most vexatious proceeding, and created greater discontent than more serious acts of oppression: the people never could understand the use or object of it; and it caused them extreme inconvenience in their business, from unnecessary detention, besides generally involving some expense in the way of bribery The purpose of the government was to prevent the passage of thieves or deserters, and it was imagined that these precautions would secure their arrest; but these anticipations were not realised, as it was always possible for them to find concealment in the mountains and forests, and to avoid the posts

placed on the high roads. The brutal severity also with which the quarantine laws were enforced prevented the route of Coutais and Redout Kaleh from being used for the purposes of commerce, the traders preferring encountering the danger, distance, and difficulties of the Trebizond road rather than the annoyances of the quarantine regulations, to which they would have been subjected on the safer and better constructed road through the Russian possessions. Excessive anxiety to improve the state of the country at a more rapid rate than the existing state of things appeared to promise, led to further vexations and annoyances; regulations, carried even to a ridiculous pitch of minuteness, were issued, directing what was to be cultivated or produced, and in what manner, so as to leave hardly any freedom of action to the people.

The streets of Tiflis were narrow and inconvenient,—a defect which its confined situation rendered it difficult to avoid: improvements might undoubtedly have taken place, but they should have been made gradually, and with as little inconvenience as possible to the inhabitants. Such, however, was not the Russian system; lines of new streets were drawn through the town, and the

old houses were knocked down before the people had even been able to remove their property, far less to find other dwellings. The proprietors were obliged to rebuild upon a given plan, which often proved totally unfit for their business, besides being frequently above their means; and thus, though many handsome buildings were constructed, the misery caused to the people was extreme. During this time the fortresses were allowed to go to decay, and every means of defence was neglected by General Yermoloff, who had an inflated idea of the power of Russia and great contempt for Turkey and Persia, neither of which states would, he thought, ever dare to resist the will of the Emperor; and following up his idea of perfect security, he punished or treated with neglect the chiefs who had done good service to Russia under his predecessors.

The lodging and comfort of the troops and the security of the communications having been provided for, the Governor-General next turned his attention to the reduction of the Caucasian tribes. The first attack was made on Sheikh Ali Khan, formerly Chief of Kuba, who had always been at the head of the insurrections in Daghestan, and who was one of those concerned in the murder of Prince

Sesianoff; he had afterwards avoided all communication with the Russian authorities, taking refuge in Akouscha and the country of the Awars. General Yermoloff's campaign in the Caucasus was successful; the Russian army not only took the strong position of Akouscha, but penetrated into the very heart of Daghestan; and so closely was Sheikh Ali Khan pursued, that his correspondence with Persia and many of the Mahomedan chiefs was captured. The authority of the Shumkhal of Tarki, the chief of all the Lesghis, was partly restored; but he was again subjected to the vexatious interference of the Russian authorities, which destroyed his influence with his countrymen and neutralised much of the good that might have resulted from his support. The communication with Astracan was, however, opened, and single travellers could now pass in safety from thence along the shores of the Caspian to the mouths of the Kur. This was the last time Sheikh Ali Khan appeared; he wandered about the Caucasus for a short time, and soon afterwards died; some of his family eventually reached Persia.

Had the Russian government been content with the submission of the Lesghis, and subsidised some of their troops, as had been the case before the

revolution in Persia, it is possible the Emperor might have been spared the vast amount of blood and treasure afterwards uselessly expended. Many of the sons of the chiefs were placed in the military schools of Tiflis, and were distinguished for their intelligence and good conduct. One of them, Achmet Bey, nephew of Surkhi Khan, who subsequently fled to Persia, requested permission to attend a class under my charge, consisting of five of the Princes, sons or nephews of Abbas Mirza; and he usually came to my quarters to study the lessons of the following day. He was a young man of much promise, and I was greatly interested in him: his communication with Europeans had opened his mind without the too frequent effect of such communication, the corruption of his morals; and he always professed himself under great obligations to many of the Russian officers, particularly to the head of the College of public instruction. He unfortunately died of the cholera in 1823, whilst engaged in collecting information for me concerning the history of the various tribes of Daghestan, — information which appears to exist in the Arabic records of the principal families, though it is difficult to obtain.

General Yermoloff's next step was to proceed

against the Chetchens, a branch of the Mitchendegen, one of the seven races of the Caucasus, known also by the more pronounceable name of the Kisti. The Chetchens inhabit the country along the banks of the Terek; and having within the last eighty years become converts to the Mahomedan faith, they now plunder their Pagan brethren without scruple or mercy. It is through their country, which adjoins the little Kabarda, that the Lesghis carry their slaves to the great mart of Anapa; but the number of Georgians thus carried away has been less considerable of late years.

During the year 1818 several field-works were constructed on the Sundja river, by which the Chetchens were much circumscribed in their plundering expeditions. But these works were not of sufficient strength to resist an assault even of the mountaineers, and they became dangerous points wherein to deposit stores, more especially ammunition; for it has happened more than once that these field-works have been taken by assault, and have furnished the enemies of Russia with abundant supplies. The Russian arms are in themselves but little valued in the Caucasus, where the inhabitants are accustomed to the excellent weapons made in Daghestan. The rifles

of that part of the country are very celebrated, and the swords and daggers (khunjar) made there are, perhaps, the best in the world; they are much prized and sought after in Turkey and Persia, and even by the Russian officers; the Cossacks in particular set a great value upon them, and never fail to use those they succeed in capturing. Manufactories of arms have been established by the Lesghis throughout Georgia, and even in Persia, and the arms produced in them are decidedly superior to those manufactured at Toola, where, however, the quality of the swords, &c. has greatly improved, owing probably to the employment of some Lesghi workmen in their establishment.

In 1820, everything promised a speedy settlement of the Eastern Caucasus, and a large force was directed to attempt the entire subjection of Circassia. The war carried on with that country had been quite distinct from the one above described. The Lesghis and their allies, the Chetchens, held but little communication with the Circassians, and the language and customs of the people are perfectly different. The Lesghis are decidedly a democratic race, and the people acknowledge no allegiance but such as they may themselves choose to yield to the chiefs of their various

clans; while the Circassians consist of two classes, nobles and serfs: the latter are probably the descendants of slaves, and are held in a state of the greatest depression by the nobility, who exact and receive the most implicit obedience from them. Their only efficient troops are cavalry, composed of the personal servants of the princes and of the nobles, the inferior orders of whom are alone expected to serve; this force may amount to about 25,000 men, and for mounting them the Circassians have a peculiar and highly-prized breed of horses. The infantry consists of the slave population, and holds a very inferior rank, — their principal employment being to guard the prisoners and cattle that have been plundered from the country of the Cossacks of the Cuban. The Cuban Cossacks now speak the Russian language; but it is probable they are of the same race as the Circassians, whose dress and arms they have adopted; they were removed from the banks of the Dnieper by Prince Potemkin, and are very superior to the Cossacks of the Don or Terek: the latter are descended from the remnants of the Strelitzes, who escaped in the general massacre of that body, and were established by Peter the Great in the country of the Terek.

The command of the army of the Cuban was entrusted to General Williaminoff, who issued one of those bombastic proclamations which, when not carried out by great deeds, render a government ridiculous. It was to this purport: "Should the heavens fall, they would be supported by the Russian bayonets; therefore tremble! Let not your chiefs deceive you, nor think you are able to resist the Russian power." Not only after these grand words did the expedition utterly fail, but the Russians were driven from some of the posts in which they had formerly been established beyond the Cuban; and General Williaminoff died shortly afterwards, it was said from deep humiliation.

The separation of so large a body of men from the army under the personal command of General Yermoloff was fatal to the final settlement of the Eastern Caucasus, and the Russians found that they had not sufficient force to subdue at once the Circassians and the Lesghis; thus verifying the saying of Timour, after his return from a two years' war in the same countries, "Let any monarch who is too prosperous attack the Caucasus." An instance of the desperate character of the mountaineers which occurred in 1824 has been already given.

Russia was now free from anxiety or embarrassment in her relations with Turkey, and gradually began to assume a haughty tone towards Persia. The propositions for the final settlement of the frontier had been adjourned by both parties, and nothing had been decided upon the subject, when General Yermoloff was induced, by symptoms of disaffection among the Mahomedan tribes of Kasak and Ganja, to place guards on the Persian territory at the northern and southern extremities of the lake of Goukcha, which intercepted the communication between those tribes and Persia. The tract of country was perfectly worthless, extending only a few yards along the east bank of the lake, and was at the time uninhabited; in fact, the position was only of value as a police station. Strong remonstrances were made by the Persian government, but in vain; I had been ordered to construct a map of the frontier, and on the approach of my party the Russian officers commanding the two stations abandoned them, when they were burnt by the Persians. Shortly afterwards the Governor of Tabreez, Futteh Ali Khan, went on a mission to Tiflis, and agreed to give up this tract of land in exchange for the claims entertained by Russia over

some districts in the south-eastern, corner of Kara Baug. Over this territory neither government had any control, and it had been occasionally occupied by both parties during the war; and probably the only pretence under which Russia could advance any claim to the districts was from their being considered the patrimony of Abul Futteh Khan, brother of Mehdee Khan, Chief of Kara Baug. He had for a long time resided at the court of Persia, but from some disgust had retired to a remote station among the mountains, from which he was carried off by Abbas Mirza, and continued to reside at Tabreez; in the Russian map this district is not included among the Russian possessions.

The treaty concluded by Abul Futteh Khan was not confirmed by the King or by Abbas Mirza, and General Yermoloff formally took possession of the disputed districts, making known at the same time his determination to hold them. Just at that period intelligence arrived of the military revolt at St. Petersburg, after the death of the Emperor Alexander: this revolt was magnified in Persia into a civil war and a disputed succession; and angry notes passed rapidly between the governments of Georgia and Persia, until it was notified

that Prince Menschikoff had been appointed on a special mission to the court of Teheran, and it was also hinted that he was empowered to settle the disputes concerning the frontier. The King of Persia was most anxious to avoid war, principally from an unwillingness to expend his treasures in a contest with a state whose strength had been experienced in the last war; but the religious fanaticism of Persia had been fairly roused, the chief Mollah of the Sheahs having been summoned from his religious retirement at the Tomb of Ali (Kerbela); he left his dwelling unwillingly, but was sincere in his fanaticism, and beyond all influence of personal ambition or pecuniary temptation; and a promise was exacted from the King, that if Russia persisted in retaining the lands of Goukcha, war should be declared, and assistance afforded to the Mahomedan states, then under Russian oppression.

Prince Menschikoff, arrived in the summer of 1826, and was received with the usual courtesy, but declined ordering the Russian posts to be withdrawn from Goukcha, saying he had no instructions to that effect, and that the Governor-General of Georgia was not under his authority.

Negotiations were at once at an end, and the Russian ambassador was asked what were the objects of his mission. Prince Menschikoff replied he had come on the part of the Emperor Nicholas to announce the death of the Emperor Alexander, and his own accession to the throne, both of which occurrences were a matter of perfect indifference at the court of Persia. Before Prince Menschikoff left the royal camp, news was received that the chief of Talisch* had expelled the Russians from Lankeran; but by the most unaccountable infatuation, even this did not rouse the Russians to any active preparations, so fully

* The old chief Mustapha Khan, who had so long deceived and betrayed both Russia and Persia, died in 1814, leaving four sons; two (of whom the eldest was Meer Hussein Khan) by a lady of his own tribe, the others by different wives. The Russian commandant excited the sons of the second family against Meer Hussein Khan, whose wife they carried as a hostage to the island of Sari. The commandant was reprimanded by Yermoloff, who had decided in Meer Hussein Khan's favour. Whether General Yermoloff had given doubtful orders or not, is not ascertained. However, the wives of both brothers were carried to the island of Sari. Meer Hussein Khan made an attempt to release them, but failed; and being a decided and violent man, he fell on the Russian posts, and drove them from the mainland. The Persian force at Ardebil moved to the assistance of the Talisch chief; and war was thus declared against Russia by a simultaneous invasion of her territories.

persuaded were the Russian authorities that Persia would never dare to brave the power of Russia. General Yermoloff was engaged in a campaign against the Chetchens, and had left no instructions as to what was to be done in his absence; General Madatoff, who commanded the frontier province of Kara Baug, was likewise absent at the baths of the Caucasus; and none of the inferior officers ventured to take upon themselves to order in the detachments which guarded the outposts. Hostilities soon took place, and the Russian couriers were intercepted in every direction.

Information was brought to Abbas Mirza that a Russian battalion was on its march from Chenakehe in Kara Baug, and would pass within a short distance of the bridge of Khuda Afareed; he immediately proceeded to the spot; the battalion was intercepted, and the men, all either killed or taken prisoners. According to the barbarous custom of Persia, the heads of the slain, amounting to 400, were carried to the King's camp at Ardebil, and a pyramid of masonry was covered with them. The prisoners who were about 400 in number, including the commandant and sixteen officers, were sent to Tabreez, with

two guns and much baggage captured at the same time. The Russians now felt the loss of Mehdee Kuli Khan's services; the people of Kara Baug rose simultaneously on the Russians, destroying the magazines which were outside the fortress of Shesha; and ten days afterwards Abbas Mirza invested this important place. Fortunately for Russia, the fortress was commanded by Colonel Riout, a Polish officer of talent and resolution, who collected what provisions he could find, and offered a determined resistance. In the meanwhile intelligence arrived that the inhabitants of Ganja, taking advantage of the absence of the Russian garrison, had possessed themselves of the fortress; and Abbas Mirza despatched his son Mahomed Mirza thither with 5000 men, under the care, however, of Ameer Khan, his uncle, a most timid and incompetent chief.

These events took place while Prince Menschikoff was still at Tabreez, and it began to be rumoured that the Persians intended to detain the Russian mission; a request was therefore made by the ambassador that I should be charged with the duty of conducting the embassy to the frontier; but his request was refused by the authorities at Tabreez, though they did not exactly venture

to arrest the Prince and his suite there, but gave orders that he should be detained at Erivan, which was accordingly done. He was well treated, and the whole mission were lodged in the garden-house of the Sirdar, surrounded with vineyards and fruit-gardens, a pleasant, but at this season an unhealthy, locality. During this time Sir John M'Donald, the newly appointed envoy, arrived; and as soon as he reached the King's camp, I was despatched to see the ambassador set at liberty, and conducted in safety to the Russian outposts: I found, however, on my arrival, that he had been already released, so I had only to follow him, until assured he was threatened with no further danger.

In the meanwhile General Yermoloff had returned to Tiflis, and detached General Madatoff with 10,000 Cossacks of the Cuban, four battalions of infantry, and twelve pieces of artillery; Ameer Khan was defeated and killed, and Ganja was abandoned by Mahomed Mirza (since king), then a boy of eighteen years of age; his example was followed by most of the Mahomedan inhabitants; but a number of Armenians were massacred by the retreating army, and two small colonies of Germans, which had just begun to prosper, were, with

all the women and children, carried into slavery. Abbas Mirza then raised the siege of Shesha, and marched against General Madatoff; and in the meanwhile General Diebitch had been despatched to Georgia with authority to displace General Yermoloff, or at all events to place General Paskiewitch in command of the advanced army.

General Yermoloff ordered Paskiewitch to retreat as the Persians advanced, and even made known his intention of abandoning Tiflis, and of not making a stand until he reached the foot of the Caucasus. What could have been his motive for such a proceeding has never been explained; it was not, however, destined to be carried into execution, for Generals Paskiewitch and Madatoff determined on giving battle to the Persian army, and halted on the banks of the Akistafa, about sixteen miles from Ganja. The action was at first well contested; and had Abbas Mirza possessed the talents of a commander, the Russian power in Georgia would have been at an end; but he was bewildered by the conflicting advice given him by everybody, even by his menial servants, who interposed, anxious for his safety, and dragged him about from place to place. The Persian cavalry had turned the right flank of the Russian army,

and the infantry was gaining ground on their centre, when General Paskiewitch concentrated all his artillery on that point, and advanced against the Persian infantry, who, destitute of a commander, were driven back, and speedily put to the rout. Contrary to what was usually the case, the Persian cavalry was defeated in a charge made by the Russian horse, and made the best of their way across the Arras, very slowly followed by the Russians.

An action was performed in this engagement by an Englishman in the service of Persia, which in any other country would no doubt have led to distinction; but the Persians passed it over almost with indifference. Mr. Dawson, a sergeant of the Royal Artillery, who had accompanied the embassy under Sir Gore Ouseley, and had returned to England with Colonel D'Arcy, subsequently purchased his discharge, and entered the Persian service. He was with the artillery at the battle of Ganja; and after the defeat of the Persian army and the flight of several of the artillery officers, he succeeded in inducing the men of his corps to remain with the guns. Of the fourteen pieces three got dismounted in a ravine, and were slung on the timbers and spare carriages. Dawson then obtained the assist-

ance of two battalions of Irak infantry, and of a few horse, and with this small force showed so good a face to the Russian Cossacks and Georgian horse that they desisted from their pursuit; and he safely passed the Arras, and joined the remnants of the Persian army, with the loss of only one of his guns, which had broken down hopelessly in the Tartar river. Mr. James Dawson was originally a blacksmith at Carron; he could read and write tolerably well, but was otherwise a plain, uneducated man.* He soon after left the Persian service, and returned to England, having by extreme economy managed to realise about 2000*l.*; and I believe he subsequently emigrated to Australia.

Simultaneously with the rise in Kara Baug the Russians were driven out of Sheki and Shirwan: Bakoo was saved by a few Cossacks and some small parties of infantry left there as guards; but it could not have resisted an attack by any force detached against it. At this place there were very large magazines: the walls are strong, but on the

* He made it a rule that the horses under his charge should never be permitted to pasture on the fields of lucerne and clover which abound in Kara Baug. The forage was always cut, and allowed partly to fade before it was given to the animals; by neglecting this precaution, the Persians lost many thousand horses.

side of the Caspian it has no defences ; it was originally built close to the sea, but the Caspian has receded so much that it now stands several hundred yards from the water. No Persian force, however, was despatched against it; and vessels of war soon arrived, bringing some of the fugitives from Talisch and Shirwan. The vast stores which had been brought there from Astracan were seized and destroyed, or dispersed by the inhabitants. One of the actors in this affair told me they found immense stocks of flour in bags, which had been roofed over with a kind of paste made of flour, which was perfectly waterproof.

The extent of cultivation destroyed would have been sufficient to feed the army of Georgia for an indefinite length of time ; and its loss rendering it impossible for the Russians to undertake any immediate operations, Yermoloff lost in a month what it had taken his predecessors twenty years of active warfare to obtain. He had always expressed an ardent desire for a war with Persia ; and upon his wish being realised, he had in a few weeks brought the affairs of Russia into the most disastrous state. His magazines were lost, his frontier forts abandoned, and he himself appeared to have a difficulty in holding even the province

of Georgia, declaring, in his despatches to his government, that if he was closely pressed he should evacuate Tiflis, and take up a position at the foot of the Caucasus.

Commissioners soon arrived from St. Petersburg, interdicting all thoughts of further retreat. In the meanwhile the Persian army had been totally defeated by Prince Paskiewitch and General Madatoff, who had disobeyed the positive order they had received from Yermoloff not to attack the Prince Royal, and the revolted provinces resumed their allegiance to Russia almost as quickly as they had thrown it off. All the frontier posts were reoccupied; but the army was reduced to inaction from the loss of its magazines. Many families from the wandering tribes had also emigrated into Persia, and thousands of Armenians had either been slaughtered or carried into slavery. Still, such was the respect in which General Yermoloff was held in St. Petersburg that he was not immediately recalled: and in the winter of this year he undertook, with a small force, a successful expedition against the Lesghi state of Jar; the inhabitants of which country and of Balikan were reduced to obedience; and shortly afterwards Yermoloff was succeeded in the government of Georgia by Prince Pas-

kiewitch. In the month of February Prince Madatoff crossed the Arras at Aslandoose, and advanced as far as Mishkeen, carrying off provisions, and compelling a number of the Kara Baug emigrants to return to their country; his force was not sufficient to make any impression on Tabreez, especially as a detachment which had attempted to join him by the Kalekbar river had been repulsed. His principal object was probably retaliation, but he desired also to collect provisions, which were much wanted in the province of Kara Baug; and though he failed to induce the emigrants to return, he carried off their cattle, and, after plundering and wasting the country for about fourteen days, he recrossed the Arras, and returned to his former position, having harassed the Persians by obliging them to assemble at a very inconvenient season of the year.

Early in the spring a camp was formed by the Russians near the bridges of Khuda Afareed.* There are here two bridges close to each other, one of which is very ancient, the other more modern; but both are partially ruined: some of the arches having been at different times destroyed, but they

* So called from the piers being founded on rocks extending across the river.

are occasionally repaired by trees being thrown across them. Prince Madatoff, however, did not remain there long, as, two light guns being brought to bear upon his camp, he found it necessary to break it up, and retired from the bridge on the 4th of May 1817.

On the Erivan frontier the Russians took the field earlier, and in the month of May General Benkendorff invested Erivan, but did not attempt the siege; and the climate began to tell so severely on the health of the troops, that after a short time he found it necessary to retire to Outch Kelisea or Etchmiadzden. This, however, was a proceeding contrary to the agreement entered into with the Armenians, who had obtained a Ukase from the Emperor that the churches and monastery of Etchmiadzden should be considered neutral, and the Persians had granted a *Ruckum* to the same effect, and had respected it in all the wars that had raged in that part of the country. General Benkendorff determined to attack the Prince's camp, and detached for that purpose two regiments of Cossacks and a battalion of light infantry, with three guns; they were allowed to cross the river unmolested, but were attacked by the Persians immediately on

reaching the firm plain on the opposite shore. One regiment of Cuban Cossacks boldly charged the Persians; but it is asserted the Don Cossacks refused to support them: at all events 300 of the Russians were killed, and the remainder owed their escape solely to the infantry and the guns which covered their retreat; they retired altogether to Outch Kelisea, unpursued by the Persians.

On the arrival of Prince Paskiewitch with more troops and the siege train, which he lodged in a redoubt at Abaran, it was supposed the siege of Erivan would have been immediately commenced, when, to the surprise of everybody, he marched towards Nackshiwan, leaving the battering train at Abaran. The key to the mystery was soon found in the surrender of Abbas Abad, a new and regular European fortress, which opened its gates to the Russian commander. It was garrisoned by some Arab irregular infantry, excellent in the defence of towns, though of little use in the field, and a battalion of troops of the Kangerloo tribe, whose chief, Asem Khan, commanded the fortress. He was the son of Kelbel Ali Khan, who had been deprived of sight by Agha Mahomed Khan for his repeated acts of treason, the whole of his family having always been disaffected to the

Kadjar family. This tribe had the reputation of being the bravest in Azerdbijan; they were originally settled in Nackshiwan by Genghis Khan, but had been much oppressed by the Persian government, even by Abbas Mirza, and the fortress had never been entrusted to this family until the present year, when it appeared the confidence was fatally misplaced.

General Paskiewitch moved to the foot of the mountains of Salverti, to avoid the unhealthy climate of the valley of the Arras; and Abbas Mirza proceeded to Erivan, and took up his position at Kanakeer; while the castles of Sirdar Abad and Erivan were occupied by the Sirdar and his brother Hussein.

Abbas Mirza, hearing that a force of nearly 3000 men had marched from Abaran, escorting a large convoy, resolved to cut them off, and encountered them at Ashterek, about sixteen miles from Outch Kelisea. The action, which took place along the whole extent of the road, was very severe; and the loss of the Russians amounted to 1200 men, while that of the Persians did not exceed 300 or 400; besides which, they succeeded in carrying off a considerable portion of the convoy. Immediately on receiving intelli-

gence of this affair, General Paskiewitch marched to Erivan, and Abbas Mirza retired to his former position at the foot of Mount Ararat, from whence he despatched a courier, inviting the Russian general to enter into negotiations. The courier was made prisoner, and a very hostile message was sent by the Russians.

General Paskiewitch immediately laid siege to Sirdar Abad, a large fortified village, inhabited principally by Armenians. It stands on the banks of a canal which I had been employed in planning. This was fed by a great dam thrown across the Arras, and watered a fine tract of country, yielding a revenue of 20,000*l.* a year; it was surrounded with a rampart of rough stone only cemented with clay, and with bastions at short intervals, but no ditch. I had strongly objected to the work, as being incapable of resisting the fire of artillery for any length of time; but Hussein Khan appeared very proud of his proficiency in the art of fortification, and determined to stand a siege. The Russians commenced operations by throwing a quantity of shells into the village,—a mode of proceeding which merely destroyed some of the stores, that would later have fallen into their hands, besides expending much valuable ammunition. The walls, however,

soon began to give way, and the splinters from the stone did more execution than the shot. After a few days the garrison, principally Mazanderanee and Arab irregulars, attempted to leave the place, but nearly 2000 of them were killed by the Russian cavalry; though their commander Hussein Khan, about the worst officer that could have been entrusted with such a duty, succeeded in escaping to his brother the Sirdar; and General Paskiewitch was enabled, by the stock of provisions taken in the place, to lay immediate siege to Erivan.

This fortress had been so often unsuccessfully besieged, that it was considered impregnable, and great importance was attached to it by the Russians. One side of it is built on a perpendicular cliff or steep ravine of the river Zengue, here fordable with extreme difficulty, from the rocky bed and rapid current of the river. The three remaining sides are defended by double walls, — the outer 25, the inner 35 feet high; and these are surrounded by a deep ditch, which on the south side can be flooded. After the defeat of General Goudowitch, two detached bastions had been constructed on European principles, but they added very little to the strength of the place. I was quartered for three years in this fortress, and traced out some addi-

tional works, which, however, were never executed; indeed, it was useless to propose any improvement on the works, as every suggestion was met by an inflated account of its impregnability, as proved by the two unsuccessful sieges. I had succeeded in having some of the old useless Turkish artillery re-cast, but they were never mounted, and were found in store when the place was taken.

As stated above, immediately after the fall of Sirdar Abad, General Paskiewitch laid siege to Erivan. This time the points of attack were well chosen, and the trenches were opened, under cover of a bank formed by the slope on which the fortress was built. It was to flank this cover I had proposed the erection of a bastion.

The trenches advanced almost under cover to the S.W. angle, and the principal breaching battery was established in the low swampy ground against this face. It consisted of eight 24-pounder heavy guns; and four 8-inch mortars were also placed on a low range of hills 800 yards from the works. The head of the trenches, on leaving the cover of the bank, became exposed to so heavy a fire that they could not be advanced, and were discontinued till the batteries should have cleared the ramparts and destroyed the parapets. Some

of the garrison indeed even advanced and destroyed about fifty yards of the trenches, but were driven in with some loss on both sides. Hussein Khan, the governor, had managed to make his escape; but hearing the Nogra Khanah (Persian royal band) sounding victory, he succeeded in re-entering the fortress. The fire of the batteries commenced early on the following morning, and by the evening the parapets were entirely destroyed and a breach made in the S.W. angle. Many of the garrison had been killed; but the place might still have been defended by cutting off the breach, and the then narrow ramparts being cleared and used as parapets. During the night, many of the garrison deserted by the deep bed of the Zengue, and the passage of the ditch was carried through. The assault was scarcely resisted, but the place was treated as having been taken by storm: however, General Paskiewitch, to his honour, at once entered, and put a stop to the horrors which always follow the capture of a place without a capitulation. Both at Sirdar Abad and at Erivan very large magazines of provisions were captured, and the Russian army advanced towards Tabreez. The impregnable fortress of Elanjack, as well as the beautiful city of Ourdabad were surrendered

by the brother of Asem Khan, who had betrayed Abbas Abad. Elanjack had for seven years resisted the army of Timour, who, considering its capture by force impossible, had posted a detachment before it, for the purpose of blockade; but this force was unable to prevent frequent supplies being thrown into the place. At Ourdabad there was only a small citadel, just capable of holding a garrison to keep the town in subjection.

The Russians had now gained possession of the whole country beyond the Arras; a small detachment was sent to occupy Elanjack and Ourdabad; and the tribe of Kangerloo joined the Russian army: still the eyes of Futteh Ali Shah and Abbas Mirza were not opened to the danger of their situation. It is probable that the season, being so far advanced, contributed to their false security, as they imagined the Russians would halt, and secure their great conquests before advancing into Azerdbijan. Abbas Mirza, who was personally brave, made a sort of reconnaissance of a part of the Russian army which had passed the Arras at Abbas Abad, and sustained some loss from the well-directed fire of the Persian artillery. The action had no object, however; and on a serious demonstration being made, the

Prince Royal retired, hotly pursued by Prince Dolgoroucki, who had been placed in charge of the Cossacks. These Cossacks formed a portion of the Russian army of which Abbas Mirza had very little opinion, and he himself undertook to cover the retreat of his men with a few hundreds of his best horse; but the retreat of an Asiatic army is always liable to become a rout, and it did so on this occasion. Abbas Mirza was frequently nearly surrounded, and had cause to appreciate the bottom of the Cossack horses. Trusting to the superiority of his fine cavalry, he was at first content to allow them to approach him, and would then move rapidly off to some distance; the Cossacks, however, at their steady pace overtook him more than once, and the Prince at last found it necessary to retreat in real earnest. I have frequently heard Abbas Mirza express his surprise at the length of time the Cossack horses could keep up their sort of ambling trot. The experiment was a dangerous one, and occasioned the dispersion of a considerable number of the Persian troops, a part of whom only reassembled at Khoey. The King of Persia, who was still on the road to Teheran, had written a very severe letter to Abbas Mirza, in answer to his

application for money to pay the troops, as he considered it necessary to keep them up during the winter: to save the expense of feeding them, they were permitted to return to their homes, when suddenly news arrived that the Russians had crossed the Arras near Julfa: 2000 men under the command of Rhamut Ulla Khan, who had been in charge of the artillery, were then hastily despatched to occupy the pass of Derra Dis, a position of such strength that this small force might have held it against any army; it was, however, abandoned without even a show of resistance. It is true the tribe of Mehrand, by whom they ought to have been supported, were in a most disaffected state from the manner in which their chief, the Nazir Ali Khan, commandant of Ganja, had been put to death after the defeat of Ameer Khan and Mahomed Mirza, the uncle and son of Abbas Mirza. Nazir Ali Khan was a brave and well-intentioned, but stupid man, and after the death of Ameer Khan was totally incompetent to direct Mahomed Mirza, a youth of eighteen years of age. After having been employed for several months, and in the habit of constant attendance at court, he was punished by being mounted upon an ass and paraded

through the camp, and was then suddenly ordered to be put to death; he was dragged ignominiously through the city of Tabreez, and at last stoned; and he only expired after protracted suffering during several hours.

The whole army under General Paskiewitch would have appeared inadequate to the capture of Tabreez. A small force had been detached, and pushed forward to support the disaffected people of Mehrand; but it did not exceed 4000 men of all arms, with 18 guns, and was under the command of the Georgian Prince Aristecheff, the hereditary chief of Radsha, a small obscure district in the highest and most retired part of the Caucasus. Abbas Mirza was unable to reassemble the men he had dismissed, and remained helpless at Khoey. He at first attempted to throw himself into Tabreez, but he was not a man of a sufficiently decided character to take any consistent line of conduct; otherwise, even at the last moment, the intrigues of Agha Meer Futta might have been defeated. The city was garrisoned by about three battalions of infantry; and the militia would have furnished at least 20,000 men. At this moment the two Shekakie regiments, seeing me, declared their willingness to fight if any Englishman would

take the command; but this of course none of us were allowed to do; the people appeared irresolute, but they might easily have been induced to defend the town. Agha Meer Futta, who had the insane ambition to expect to be made chief of Azerdbijan, persuaded them to offer no resistance; but had it not been for his treachery the Russians would have found it difficult to take the city. Tabreez had always been celebrated for its patriotism, and for the courage with which it had defended itself against the Turks and other enemies. The works, though not strong, had recently been put in a state of defence, and consisted of a double wall and deep ditch; and there was also the reserved park of field artillery, and gunners enough to man them; it was therefore perfectly capable of resisting everything but a regular siege.

Agha Meer Futta was the Mustahed or head of the Mollahs at Tabreez, and one of the chief religious men in Persia. His father, Mollah Usuf, had been respected next to the Mustahed of Croom, and the perfect authority he exercised over the people was well merited by his just and excellent administration. He never interfered in any of the state intrigues, nor did he allow his decisions to be influenced by the power of the

ministers. He was far from popular with the government, and never could be brought to countenance an act of injustice, though it might sometimes not be in his power to prevent its being perpetrated. Upon one occasion, when a member of his family had been insulted by a servant of the minister, the Mollah left the town, and was followed by 20,000 of the inhabitants. The consequences of this measure would indeed have been most serious, had not the officials entreated him in the most abject manner to return, which he was at last induced to do, though not without extreme difficulty. Upon his death he was succeeded by his son Agha Meer Futta, who was also considered a just and upright man, enjoyed the same reputation and popularity as his father, and up to this period had shown no signs of the excessive ambition which appears to have dictated his conduct and induced him to betray and ruin his country.

It is said his dignity had been offended by the King's refusal to give him the sum of 10,000 tomaums (about 6000*l.*) and one of his daughters in marriage. The King used to relate the interview between the Mollah and himself with great humour and good nature.

"I am the first sovereign of Persia," said he,

'to whom a Mustahed ever made a proposal to turn porter, as well as guardian of the Princesses; for, as nobody was to be aware of his conference with me, I must have carried the gold on my own back and have led out my daughter with my own hand." The King, however, confined his resentment to having Agha Meer Futta turned out of the palace.

Tabreez is surrounded by gardens enclosed within high walls, affording a position very favourable for opposing the advance of regular troops, and I doubt whether the whole of Prince Paskiewitch's army would have been able to force their way to the town. The command of the place had been entrusted to Ali Yar Khan, a Kadjar nobleman unknown to the people or army of Azerdbijan, and remarkable only for excessive vanity and pride. He was arrested, and delivered up to the Russians. On the southern side of the town is a citadel with the ruins of a very substantial mosque, admirably adapted to keep the city in subjection. Besides this, a number of the captured guns were kept constantly pointed by the Russians upon the town; and a general disarming of the people took place, who now appeared bewildered at the step they had taken. General Paskiewitch himself soon arrived, and on the day after his

entrance held a general review of his army, consisting of twelve battalions of infantry, 7000; two battalions of guards, 1200; one regiment of dragoons, 600; three regiments of Uhlans, 1200; 2000 Cossacks; irregular cavalry, Georgians and Mahomedans, 2000; artillery, 52 pieces; gunners, 1000*; to which were immediately added a number of the Persian guns, all of them excellent, and either of English manufacture or cast after the English model. Casting is an art perfectly understood by the native workmen, and a boring-machine had been erected by Mr. Armstrong, an English artificer. About 30 pieces could be furnished annually, and they were turned out exceedingly well. The laboratory was in good order, though the powder was rather deficient in strength, and the powder-mills were capable of producing any quantity for which saltpetre could be obtained. This article is rather scarce in Azerdbijan; but if funds had been furnished, I have no doubt the extensive ruins about Tabreez would have afforded an ample supply, though at a higher price than the natural grounds, of which there were several.

* Grand total: 8200 infantry, 1800 regular cavalry, 2000 Cossacks, 2000 irregulars, and 1000 artillery: total, 15,000 men, 52 guns.

Negotiations were now entered into, and Abbas Mirza was entrusted with the duty of conducting them, under the guarantee of the British Minister, Col. M'Donald Kinneir. The Prince Royal gave himself up at Ali Shah, a village about twenty-five miles from Tabreez, and proceeded to Dokhergan a small town thirty miles from his capital. Notwithstanding his generally great self-possession, Abbas Mirza could not avoid showing considerable agitation when the Cossacks closed round him, and all but a limited number of his guards returned. At Dokhergan he was considerately treated, and allowed to follow his favourite amusement of hunting, attended by a guard of Cossacks under the command of Prince Dolgoroucki, a man of great corpulence, weighing twenty stone, who managed nevertheless to scramble over the highest mountains, to his great discomfort doubtless, but without ever showing the slightest loss of temper.

Sir John Mac Neill, then attached to the British embassy, with a Russian commissioner, now proceeded to Teheran, where the preliminary articles of the treaty were agreed upon, but were not acted upon by the King. The leading article was one which the natural avarice of Futteh Ali Shah rendered it difficult for him to bring himself to comply with, for it stipulated the immediate payment of the sum of

2,000,000*l.* sterling*; and he continually interposed delays in making over the money to the Russian government. In the meanwhile, the chiefs of several of the districts and of the great tribes sent in their submission to the Russians; the tribes of the Shekakies and Shah Suoand offered their troops to serve against Persia; and the Khan of Maraga also conducted the Russian prisoners who had been entrusted to him to the general. Just at that time while the negotiations at Dokhergan were still pending, news arrived of the battle of Navarino intelligence which induced the Persians to suppose that England, France, and Russia were allied against Turkey. Although this state of affairs made the impending war between Russia and Turkey appear of less importance, Prince Paskiewitch at last became uneasy at the frequent excuses and delays which occurred in the stipulated payment; and in the month of January the conference at Dokhergan was declared to be at an end, and preparations were made for an advance upon Teheran.

It was in the depth of winter, and the roads were much encumbered with snow; it was, however, cleared away by the snow-plough, and ap-

* 3,000,000 of tomaums.

peared to offer no obstacle to the march of the Russians. General Penkratieff was directed to proceed with one division by Maraga, and join to his force the Persian soldiers of Makkudum, under their Khan. Count Suchtelen marched to Ardebil *, which fortress surrendered, and his division was to unite with the troops of Shah Suoand and Shekakie. Khoey had surrendered immediately on the fall of Tabreez, and Salmas, Rhumia, with several others, followed its example; so that Russia could command 20,000 of the best men in Persia to act against their own countrymen, while the King could not trust any of his provinces.

Abbas Mirza was now obliged to leave the Russian head-quarters, and join the portion of his troops that still adhered to him; he gained Zendjoon, where a small force was assembled under Hussein Khan, the late Sirdar of Erivan, consisting of what were considered the best soldiers in Persia. The King was now fairly alarmed, and in great haste forwarded the first instalment of the contribution levied upon him. The preliminary treaty was signed on the 18th of Feb. 1828 by Abbas Mirza, who was

* Though the city had capitulated, the beautiful and extensive library belonging to the mosque and tomb of Shah Sefi was packed up and despatched to Russia.

able to appear at Turkoman Chie, though suffering severely from illness; and General Paskiewitch lost no time in returning to Georgia, in order to show some front to the Turks, who were said to threaten an immediate invasion of that province.

The appearance of the Russian army was far from satisfactory. The cavalry and transport horses were in very bad condition, owing to the circumstance that barley and chopped straw are the only forage procurable in Persia; and this had disagreed with the Russian horses to such a degree as even to cause the death of many of them; so that, if an advance into Persia had taken place, the Persian horse* would have been the only efficient cavalry. Besides this, the Russians had lost the greater part of the Calmuck camels.

The district and fortified town of Khoey was held in deposit for the payment of the second instalment; but nearly 2,000,000 of tomaums had been paid over in gold before General Paskiewitch left Tabreez, and this sum was conveyed principally on the cavalry horses. So quiet was the country that twenty Cossacks were all the escort required by the commander-in-chief to attend him to his own

* From 10,000 to 12,000 Persian calvary had joined the Russians against their own sovereign.

frontier. General Penkratieff was left with 3000 men in Khoey, and the remainder of the army returned to Georgia. The usual procrastination of the Turks was now of great service to Russia, for it allowed sufficient time to remount the cavalry and recruit the transport service; and more than 14,000 horses and bullocks were received from the line of the Caucasus before a single Turkish soldier had taken the field. Vast quantities of provisions were found in the magazines of the Persian government; they had refused them to their own troops, and they were now available for the Russians, who found stores in Erivan and Sirdar Abad of sufficient magnitude, not only to furnish them with the means of advance into Persia, but amply to supply the army subsequently assembled at Gumri.

During the time these preparations were in progress, all acts of hostility in the Turkish provinces were carefully avoided, the usual trade was not interfered with, and even provisions were imported to such an extent that when the Turkish army did at last move, it suffered from the want of what had been sold to the enemy.

In the course of a few months General Paskiewitch had thus brought the war with Persia to a

close, without his army having encountered more than one serious check; and none at all had occurred where he had commanded in person. His good fortune, both in the Persian and Turkish wars, in taking fortresses which had so often baffled his predecessors, was extraordinary. In Persia treason, however, had done more than arms, and had most unjustly caused a slur to be cast upon the character of the private soldiers of the Persian army, whose chiefs had been incompetent even where they had not been traitors; but the soldiers had invariably done their duty under every disadvantage. Over-confidence in the position of Erivan had made the Persians suppose the fortress impregnable, though in reality it possessed no great strength against a powerful artillery. Had the old Sirdar, however, been in the place, the loss experienced by the Russians must have been much heavier; and it ought not to have been possible for General Paskiewitch to take Abbas Abad, Khoey, or Tabreez, even with a much larger force than he ever had under his command.

At this period the position of the Russians was far more advantageous for a war, either of aggression or defence, than at any former time; and the Turkish government, on the contrary, was in a state of transition between the old system of

defence and the new and incomplete one. Under the old order of affairs the Janissaries might always be depended upon in time of war, however dangerous they might occasionally be to the reigning monarch; but they were now destroyed or disbanded; and the new levies were incomplete in number, dissatisfied, and undisciplined. The great feudal Beys also, who had formerly paid no tribute, but furnished men and provisions, were now greatly disaffected; their lands had been resumed by the government, no substitute had been provided for their perfectly trained and well appointed horse, and they were really more inclined to join the enemy than to take service under the government from which they had received such affronts and injuries.

In Erivan and Sirdar Abad, vast magazines had been formed for commercial purposes; these were purchased by General Paskiewitch, and such was the abundance of grain even in Persia, that, notwithstanding the ravages committed by the King's army, and after the occupation of the country for nearly six months by 15,000 Russians, provisions were cheaper at the time they retired than at any former period. The Russians removed as much as they had means to transport, and sold great

quantities to the people. Prince Paskiewitch formed magazines in various places, in sufficient quantities to furnish his army for several months; and the people of the country took contracts for the transport, hardly requiring any escort, as they were all armed, and accustomed to defend themselves against the robber tribes of the frontier. The Persians, at no time willing to join or act with the Turks, were more inclined to assist Russia than to act against her; in fact, so great is the distaste of these two great Mahomedan powers for each other, that the only means of inducing them to act effectually in a common cause would be to assign different lines of attack to their armies. The rehearsal of the Mahomedan prayers * would suffice to set the two armies fighting. When I served with the Persian army, at a time when the Persians and Turks were both at war with Russia, it was always found necessary that the two encampments should be at some distance from each other, and even that was not always sufficient to prevent quarrels and bloodshed.

* The Persians are Sheahs, followers of Ali and his Sons; the Turks, Sunnies, and followers of Omer. Consequently at the Mohurrum, and in their prayers, they are in exact opposition to each other.

CHAP. VI.

BLINDNESS OF THE TURKS. — AT LAST ROUSED TO A SENSE OF THEIR DANGER. — PRINCE PASKIEWITCH. — SIEGE OF KARS. — DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS. — IT IS CAPTURED. — ORDER IMMEDIATELY RESTORED. — EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN GENERAL. — THE SERASKIER ARRIVES IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE SURRENDER OF THE PLACE. — APPEARANCE OF THE PLAGUE. — ENERGETIC MEASURES BY WHICH IT IS QUICKLY STOPPED. — THEY MARCH AGAINST AKHALKALAK. — DIFFICULTIES OF THE ROAD. — THE PLACE SUMMONED TO SURRENDER. — THE GARRISON INDIGNANTLY REFUSE. — OF WHOM COMPOSED. — CAPTAIN ABOUKOFF TREACHEROUSLY SHOT. — DESPERATE DEFENCE OF THE FORTRESS. — TAKEN BY STORM. — HERTWEIS TAKEN. — POTI TAKEN. — ACCOUNT OF MINGRELIA. — THE ARMY PROCEED AGAINST AKHISKA. — SUBMISSION OF THE KARA PAPAKS. — THE SERASKIER ADVANCING TO COVER AKHISKA. — DIFFICULTIES OF THE ROAD. — SIEGE OF AKHISKA. — DESPERATE DEFENCE. — DEFEAT OF THE COVERING ARMY. — TAKEN BY STORM. — DISPERSION OF THE TURKISH ARMY. — EXCELLENT ARRANGEMENTS OF THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

THE Turkish government appeared to view the humiliation of Persia with satisfaction, little imagining it would tend to their own discomfiture. Prince Paskiewitch at first abstained from any hostile demonstration against their frontier; and

as the trade continued as usual, it was a considerable time before the Seraskier (Kousa Mahomed Pasha) could bring himself to believe the Russians were really at war with his country, until at last his fears were excited by the advance of the Russians on the Danube, and the warlike reports he daily received from Constantinople. He desired the Pasha of Kars to send an agent to ascertain what were the intentions of Prince Paskiewitch, and to what cause his long inactivity might be attributed. In the meanwhile the equipment of the Russian army had been completed, their cavalry had been remounted, and they were provided with the means of transport. The Turk employed on this mission appears to have been one of the very heaviest of his race, and came to the conclusion that the troops he saw on the road and at Tiflis composed the total force of the Russians; he therefore wrote to the Seraskier that though the troops were in good order there were but few of them, and no immediate danger was to be apprehended. Every attention was shown to the Turkish agent, and he was allowed a minute inspection of the corps stationed at Tiflis; but when he proceeded on his

return journey he was closely followed by the Russians, and as his movements were not characterised by any great celerity, he had hardly reached Kars before the whole Russian army had assembled within thirty miles of the city, and on the 26th of June it passed the Arpa Chie, or Turkish frontier. On the 27th of June the Russian camp was established on the plain at Tickniss, where General Goudowitch had defeated the Seraskier Yusuf Pasha on the 18th of June 1807, and on the following day they proceeded to Mecho, from whence the fortress of Kars was visible at a distance of about twenty miles.

It was determined an attack should be made on the south-eastern face of the fortress near the village of Kutchouk Kiew, which had been abandoned and burnt by the Turks. This was undoubtedly the weakest point; the ground being broken, the troops were enabled to advance under cover, and wood, water, and forage were abundant; and the ricochet batteries took in reverse, and enfiladed the southern and western faces. In order to accomplish this, it was necessary to take possession of the village of Azakcha and the great Erzeroum road, by which the Turkish army would have to march to relieve the fortress. The Pasha sent

out all his cavalry, who took post in the hills flanking the Russian army; but the nature of the ground was unfavourable for their movements, and only in the village of Azakcha a trifling skirmish took place with the Cossacks, the Turks abandoning the village on the approach of the Russian infantry. From the unaccountable supineness of the Turks, who retired to the opposite side of the Kars river, the Russian army effected this difficult and dangerous march without opposition; they even took a few prisoners, who were dismissed with presents, and returned to their homes, carrying with them the Russian proclamation, containing assurances of protection and good treatment to the people, and also an address from Agha Meer Futta, the former head of the Persian religion at Tabreez, who had betrayed his country, and accompanied Prince Paskiewitch to Georgia. This was far from a judicious measure on the part of the Russians; for Agha Meer Futta, being a Sheah, a Persian, and a traitor, his assurances did more harm than good.

The park of artillery and ammunition reached the neighbourhood on the 19th, and a force was sent out to cover their march; while the remainder of the army, drawn up in front of the

town, drove in the Turks who still remained outside. This was simply a demonstration on the part of the Russians to draw off the attention of the Turks from the advance of the artillery. From the nature of the ground, Prince Paskiewitch was able to make his troops appear much more numerous than they really were, and the Turks imagined large reinforcements had arrived, when in fact there were only the detachments which had been sent out to cover the advance of the convoy. Everything was now ready to commence the siege.

The fortress of Kars is of great antiquity, and was celebrated in the time of the Armenian kings, but it has been greatly enlarged by the Turks. Before the use of artillery it was considered a place of great strength, and ventured to stand a siege by Timour, by whom it was taken; though it was more fortunate when besieged by Nadir Shah. The upper fortress is divided into two parts, the highest serving as a citadel, where the Turkish Janissaries usually resided, the lower part principally occupied by the inhabitants; the whole is enclosed within walls of stone, built on the slope of a hill; but the nature of the ground does not allow of a ditch or glacis. It is commanded from without

by some hills within short cannon range; and from the circumstance of the walls being built on a steep descent, the exterior of many parts of the fortress is seen from the outside. Two suburbs * on the low ground afforded cover to within a short distance of the walls, and were principally inhabited by Armenians, Kurds, and some Jews; they were only defended by a low wall of loose stones, and were indeed incapable of further defence. The population was about 12,000, the majority of whom were Christians.

Prince Paskiewitch determined to occupy Kutchik Koee, for which purpose he was obliged to march nearly round the fortress,—a dangerous movement, both from the presence of the Turkish army, and from the number of ravines, now filled with water from recent rains, which the troops would have to pass. They had, however, less difficulty to encounter than had been anticipated; for they hardly met with any resistance from the Turkish army, which merely defended the village of Azakchai for a few minutes, and then retreated beyond the Kars river. The Russians were now encamped so as to intercept the road

* Ousta Kassi and Biram Pasha.

from Erzeroum, and it was determined to give battle to the Seraskier should he arrive before the place was taken, though there was every reason to hope, from the slowness of his movements, that this would not be the case.

The Pasha of Kars, in a vain attempt to retrieve the error he had committed in permitting the Russians to perform their march without opposition, now made a serious attack with about 5000 cavalry, and the infantry of Ispera, but without success, and only a few of the men, profiting by the broken ground, were enabled to regain the town; the remainder retired beyond the Kars river. The cavalry did not again venture to molest the besieging army.

The Turks having neglected to occupy a range of hills which extend to the suburb of Ousta Kassi, General Paskiewitch ordered it to be fortified, and placed there six battalions of infantry, two regiments of Cossacks, and 6 pieces of artillery. This may be considered as the first parallel, extending on both sides of the ravine of the Pashkoe Chie, from which the batteries commanded and took in reverse the works attacked. Four batteries were constructed, whose fire was principally directed against an intrenched camp, which the Turks still occupied

outside the town as well as the great burying ground beyond the river. The first notice the Turks had of the existence of these batteries was their opening fire on the morning of the 23rd of June. They soon recovered from their surprise, however, and returned the fire with vigour; but they were dislodged at the same time from the burying ground and the rocks behind it; and though they made strenuous efforts to recover the burying ground, and for the moment succeeded, they were at last forced to retreat, and the Russians were able to establish themselves permanently there. The Turkish intrenched camp occupied the ground which was intended for the second parallel, but after an obstinate conflict they were driven entirely beyond the Kars Chie; they were equally unsuccessful in their attempt to defend the suburb opposite the castle, and the Russians lodged themselves in the buildings which the Pasha had neglected to destroy. The second parallel was now completed; a battery of 4 pieces of heavy artillery was established in the Palace of Timour Pasha, which Colonel Bourtsoff had made himself master of; another, of 6 pieces, was placed on the height occupied by the Turkish intrenched camp, and a third on the height occupied by Colonel Borodine. These batteries swept three sides

of the fortress, and soon silenced the Turkish artillery, spreading terror among the inhabitants, who began to seek shelter in the ravines of the Kara Daug. The bastions and ramparts of the suburb of Ousta Tipha beginning to fall, Prince Paskiewitch instantly ordered a breaching battery to be established on the walls of the suburb, from which the Turks were entirely driven; and General Mouravieff succeeded in occupying the Kara Daug and the battery which defended it. Colonel Borodine, with his brigade, and the 30th and 40th Chasseurs, then crossed the river, and occupied the other suburb; so that the Russians were soon masters of all the ground to the very foot of the citadel, where the inhabitants in the wildest disorder were endeavouring to seek shelter. The walls were rapidly falling before the fire of the Russian artillery, and that of the enemy was silenced; the bravest and most active of the Russians had established themselves on the terraces of the houses, and kept up an incessant fire on the walls of the citadel; the gates were soon forced, and the nearest towers, with 25 pieces of artillery, were in the hands of the besiegers. The Turks made a greater resistance on the western side, but with little success; for the whole of the lower fortress was soon occupied, and the Pasha,

gave up all hopes of a longer resistance. A white flag was now hoisted; Prince Paskiewitch demanded the surrender of the Pasha and of the Turkish garrison as prisoners of war, and the disarming of the militia and local troops, who were to be permitted to return to their homes. So great was the panic that 1000 Delhis, stationed in the heart of the town, passed before the Russian troops without venturing to commit any act of hostility.

Emaum Pasha hesitated to accept these terms, trusting to be relieved, and demanded two days to consider, declaring his determination to bury himself under the ruins of the part of the citadel he still occupied. The principal Mollahs brought this answer to the general, who replied, "I will give you two hours to make up your minds. Mercy if you surrender, death if you resist." As this threat was supported by 40 pieces of artillery, ready to open on the confined space of the upper citadel; the garrison began to show signs of insubordination; and Emaum Pasha, fearing an insurrection, in despair brought the keys of the place, and gave himself up a prisoner. The garrison surrendered at 10 A.M., and the Russian flag was hoisted on the ramparts.

The fortress of Kars enjoyed at that time a cha-

racter for strength that was very unmerited; the walls, though high, were weak, and yielded after a few shot had been fired against them. It is also so entirely surrounded by hills that the garrison are exposed to a direct fire on every side, rendering it doubtful whether anything can be done to strengthen it without a number of detached works. Twenty-two mortars and 129 cannon, with a considerable quantity of gunpowder and other ammunition, were found in the place, besides 6000 sacks of grain in the magazine. The loss of the Russians amounted to 13 officers and 400 men killed and wounded; that of the Turks to 2000 killed and wounded, besides 1361 prisoners. The whole garrison, including the militia, had originally amounted to 11,000 men, but 8000 had either retired or had been disarmed before the surrender of the fortress. Although there had been no capitulation, there was but very little plundering, and that little was immediately put a stop to, and a proclamation issued, promising protection to all who thought proper to remain. Order was perfectly restored by the evening; and on the following day the shops were opened, and the artisans continued their usual occupations. A council was then established, consisting of Prince Beckowitz,

a Circassian chief in the service of Russia, the Mufti, the Cadi, and some of the principal inhabitants, both Armenian and Mahomedan, only two being Russian *employés*. Even the police was continued as before; and during the two years that the place was occupied by the Russians not a single complaint was made against the Russian authorities. The laws remained unaltered, the Cadi performed his usual duties, subject to the inspection of an honest and upright man, and the Christians offered no complaints against the administration.*

The activity of General Paskiewitch had not been greater than the case demanded, for Kousa Mahomed Pasha (the beardless), Seraskier of Erzeroum, had assembled an army of nearly 50,000 men on the mountains of Soganlook. They were wanting indeed in every thing that was necessary for their efficiency; but he determined to do what he could, and despatched orders to Emaum Pasha to hold out till he arrived. Selecting the best of his troops and four pieces of artillery, he made a forced march, but he only came in sight of the walls of Kars just as the

* The author can attest, from personal experience, the strict justice of Prince Paskiewitch, and the excellent discipline preserved by him in all ranks of the Russian army, both in Persia and Turkey. Prince Paskiewitch was also singularly fortunate in the selection of those he placed in authority.

Russian troops occupied the citadel. The Seraskier was forced to retreat as quickly as he had advanced, and took the direction of Ardahan and Akhiska.*

In justification of the Seraskier, it must be remembered that the authority of Turkey is but very slightly recognised in this part of Asia, where the inhabitants are either Kurds, Armenians, or belong to the still wilder tribes of Akhiska, Lazi, and Adschara. The Janissaries, who had constituted the sole permanent force of the country, had been abolished, and the lands held by the great tribes on military tenure had been resumed; as for the inhabitants, they for the most part refused to take any part in the war. The Turks of Asia are at best a miserable rabble, and their armies in this quarter were only efficient when mixed with a large portion of the European Turkish troops. The most warlike of the tribes, the Lazi, Adschara, and men of Akhiska, are a perfectly different race, and have rarely served at any distance from their own country; they are highly prized, as forming the most determined garrisons in fortified places, but are much given to desertion, and will only obey their own chiefs, besides being inveterate in their blood feuds.

Hardly had the Russians gained Kars, when the

* Also called Akhaltzek.

plague made its appearance in the army. It has been asserted that it first manifested itself among the Turks who had come from Erzeroum, as it was certainly not supposed to exist in Kars at the time of the assault. I am, however, inclined to adhere to the opinion of those who hold that it originated in the circumstance of the troops having gone into the houses and brought out a considerable quantity of old clothing and other articles which had been long shut up. The plague manifested itself almost immediately after this; and as the clothes and even the bedding of those who die of the plague are very rarely destroyed, but are thrown into some dark closet or cellar, where the infection is probably retained for a very long period, I think this was the most probable cause of the appearance of the disease. General Paskiewitch acted on the occasion with admirable decision and good sense. He immediately acknowledged the presence of the disease, and took measures with the utmost promptitude for its suppression. The different divisions were then separated into distinct camps, and quarantines and fumigating chambers established in each. As soon as any decided case of plague showed itself, the patient was carried to the infected quarantine; all articles capable of being washed

were conveyed to the river; and others were fumigated and exposed to the air. Such articles as could not be subjected to either of these operations were burnt, but a recompense for their loss was made to the owners, or no precautions would have been sufficient to prevent many things from being concealed. The men by whom these duties were performed had wax-cloth coverings, and their hands and arms were covered with oil or pitch, both of which are supposed to prevent infection. All the men and officers, the commander-in-chief not excepted, were obliged to bathe daily in the river, and this appeared to be what the troops disliked most. All military movements were suspended, great as were the objections to giving the enemy time to collect and recover themselves from the depression occasioned by the rapid fall of Kars; and in twenty days the terrible pestilence was at an end in the army: 530 cases had been sent to the plague hospital; but 263 of these were either found not to have been actually attacked by the disease, or else they soon recovered so as to join their corps. The great secret in dealing with this fearful enemy appears to have been separating the men, especially the sick, as much as possible; none but the most clear and decided cases

were put into the infected wards, and many who seemed at first to show symptoms were afterwards found not to be really affected by the disease. It may truly be said that never was so great a calamity attended with so little loss.

The fortress of Kars was now strengthened, some of the useless works, particularly the Kara Daug, were destroyed, and the great tower at the S.E. angle was united to the citadel by a stone wall. The regiment of the Crimea, the 39th and 40th regiments of Chasseurs, which had suffered the most during the siege, besides two regiments of Cossacks, were left in garrison, under the command of General Bergmann, with 10 pieces of field artillery. About 100 of the Turkish guns and mortars were placed on the ramparts, and on the 17th of July General Paskiewitch made a demonstration with the whole army on the Erzeroum road, when the Seraskier retreated with great precipitation to the pass of the Soganlook, and the Russian army countermarched. After leaving the garrison above-mentioned, there only remained seven battalions of infantry, two regiments of regular cavalry, four regiments of Cossacks, and 48 field-guns; it was therefore indispensable to call up the reserves, and it was evident this could

be most quickly accomplished by the Akhalkalak and Hertweis route, from whence the army could either advance on Akhiska, or even place itself between that city and the Turkish army, if the Seraskier did not act with great celerity. By this means also the Russian army would be covered by the Tchilder Lake. The obstacles, though great, from the broken nature of the country and the great range of the Tchilder, besides the Itskhiney Itskali, were not greater than what the army of the Caucasus had already overcome. The siege-train and park had taken this direction on the 12th of July; and General Paskiewitch, having marched as far as the village of Tehme, and sent the cavalry still further in advance, retraced his steps by Kars, and joined his park on the 18th at the village of Kembel. The passage of the baggage was here attended with great difficulty; for the descent to the Khani Chie was very rapid, and the great chain of the Tchilder on the opposite side offered still greater obstacles; the carts could only march in single file, so the army was obliged to halt for two days on the banks of the Tchilder Lake to let them pass, preceded by an advanced guard of three battalions of infantry, one of Pioneers, two regiments of Cossacks, and the native horse.

The summit of Gouk Daug was gained on the 21st, and from thence the valley in which Akhalkalak is situated could be discovered, still covered with snow. The next day the remainder of the train and army accomplished the passage, and on the 23rd they encamped on the Gen Derra Soo, from which the white towers of Akhalkalak were visible. The enemy were seen here for the first time after leaving Kars; and about 400 horse of the tribe of Kara Papak showed themselves on the hills, but retired as the Cossacks advanced. The general-in-chief proceeded in person to reconnoitre the castle, which appeared to have been abandoned, not a single soul being visible, and the patrols advanced to within musket-shot without the appearance of any indication of an enemy, except some small flags upon the towers. General Paskiewitch sent a summons to surrender, but it was rejected with disdain; the garrison replied they had sent away their wives and children, and would die at their post on the walls of the castle; nothing, therefore, remained but to reduce them by force.

The small castle of Akhalkalak, though possessing but little strength, is of very great importance from its situation, as it commands the bridge over this branch of the Kur, the road by which

had passed all the plundering parties that had so long infested Georgia. The castle is 300 yards long, and 60 or 80 broad, and stands at the angle formed by the junction of two small streams, the Taparwan and Gen Derra Soo, which, like all the streams in this elevated region, flow through deep ravines with high cliffs. It was at one time a considerable place, with an extensive suburb, containing a mosque and about 600 houses, but for many years past had become merely a resort of banditti and slave-dealers. The defences consisted of loopholed walls and towers divided into two stories: there was a covered passage to the river, to enable the garrison to supply themselves with water; but the place is commanded by hills on both sides. General Goudowitch had been repulsed with great loss in 1807 in an attempt to storm it; but it was afterwards, as has been already related, *surprised* by General Kutlerousky, and the garrison put to the sword. At the present time it was defended by 14 guns and 1000 men.

While the reconnaissance of the place was going on, the garrison assembled in great numbers on the walls; and, as they appeared inclined to enter into a parley, Captain Aboukoff advanced to hear

what they had to say, when he was immediately pierced with a number of balls. This act of cruel perfidy showed the resolution of the men to resist to the last; and General Paskiewitch determined not to risk an assault till it was certain of success, but to construct his formidable batteries against the town. A battery of 8 guns and 2 mortars was established on the opposite side of the Gen Derra Soo, beyond the ruins of the old suburb which commanded the fortress; and on the point nearer to the place, a battalion had 2 guns and 6 cohorn mortars. The works were finished by dawn, with little or no opposition from the garrison; indeed, the sight of the preparations seemed to make no impression on the men who assembled on the ramparts, singing hymns after the Mollah, who stood on the minaret of the mosque, and who also had taken an oath to die with them at their post. In half an hour after the Russian batteries had opened fire, the enemy's batteries were silenced, the principal tower began to crumble, and the angles of the fortress were much injured; at the same time the garrison were seen seeking refuge behind the buildings, or in the casemates, and running here and there to escape from the balls which appeared to follow them wherever they went. Ge-

neral Paskiewitch then caused the bombardment to cease for half an hour, and sent another offer of capitulation, in hopes their experience of the fire might have altered their determination; but the only answer he received was a repetition of the oath they had taken to die in defence of the place. Another battery of 4 guns to batter in breach was now added, at a distance of within 300 yards, to those already in operation, and also 2 field-guns on the gate. Colonel Borodine, who commanded the column of attack, approached the walls, and made a last attempt to induce a surrender, but with no better success than before; the Turkish commander repeated his oath, and his words were responded to by his men. The situation of the defenders of Akhalkalak became, however, every moment more desperate, and they were falling fast, without being able to do any mischief to their assailants. Some of them attempted to escape by means of ropes into the ravines, and sought thus to fly from the fate that awaited them, but in vain; for they were intercepted by a party sent for that purpose, and the besiegers made use of these very ropes to ascend the walls. The Russian flag was soon hoisted on the principal tower, and the troops entered on all sides. The Cossacks of the

line avenged the death of their captain, who had been assassinated the day before; 100 of the garrison contrived to make their escape, but 600 bravely kept their oath, and perished at their post; the remaining 300 surrendered, among whom were Tendakh Bey, the commandant, and Mouta Bey, the governor of the town, and 14 officers. The direct communication with Gumri and Georgia was thus opened, and the possession of a rich and fertile country obtained,—advantages which would of course greatly facilitate the attack on Akhiska, and the subsequent operations; but it was still necessary to take possession of the fort of Hertweis commanding the road to Akhiska.

This ancient castle dates from the time of the Greek Empire, and is built on the summit of a high rock, near the junction of the Kur and Akhaltzek rivers, and its position as well as the nature of the roads leading to it render it almost inaccessible to an enemy. It was defended by a garrison of 200 men and 14 guns; yet, strange to say, this apparently impregnable post was taken by cavalry; Count Osten Sacken was ordered to reduce it, and had a force of 2000 infantry, 15 squadrons of cavalry, 12 pieces of artillery, two 8-inch mortars, and

6 cohorns. But as the nature of the ground prevented this force from acting with the desired expedition, Count Osten Sacken left his infantry and guns in position, and marched direct to the castle: some pickets were driven in, and General Rievsky advanced direct to the gate. About 100 of the garrison with some of the fugitives from Akhalkalak then fled across the river; and the remainder surrendered to the dismounted Dragoons, whose horses could not mount the ascent. The Russian force did not lose a man; and besides the prisoners, they took 13 pieces of artillery, 1 mortar, abundance of ammunition, and 1000 sacks of flour, thus affording another instance of the extraordinary good fortune which had attended Prince Paskiewitch in all his wars in Asia.

The small fort of Poti was taken just at the same time by General Hesse, after a siege of seven days. This was a principal slaving station of the Turks, and was built on the site of a palace of the Kings of Pontus. There was formerly here a preserve of pheasants, which birds derive their European name from the river Phasis, the modern Rion. The fort was merely a square building, with towers but no ditch; and, after the landing on the island had been effected and batteries established,

the Turkish governor surrendered.* The river is closed by a bar, and though deep for a distance of fifty miles, has never afforded any facilities to navigation. The Russians had given up this place on the conclusion of the last peace, and had established themselves on the Kaleh, called from thence Redout Kaleh. There is a narrow creek which unites with the Rion some miles above Poti, and which the Russians made very useful in avoiding paying the Turkish duties. The climate of the whole of Mingrelia and Immeretia is very unhealthy, and the greatest mortality is in this country. It is said the Russian garrisons here lose annually a fourth of their number, and as the district affords no facilities for an invasion of Turkey, its possession is of no further importance than to prevent the Lazi and freebooters of Batoum from making incursions into the provinces of the Black Sea. The Rion is only navigable as far as Merani; beyond this place it becomes a rocky torrent, down which the timber of an inferior quality produced in the neighbourhood can with difficulty be floated. It is a mistake to suppose

* Aslan Bey the governor, and his men, were permitted to return to Turkey. There were 43 guns and 1 mortar in the place.

the trade of Asia was ever carried on by the Rion and Kur; it was probably in former days, as at present, by caravans, the various points to which they proceeded being at the distance of 300 miles from the navigable parts of these rivers.

The direct communication with Georgia by two routes was now secured to Prince Paskiewitch; he was quickly joined by Prince Bebutoff with part of the reserve, amounting to 2500 men, and operations were immediately directed against Akhiska, though Kousa Mahomed Pasha still occupied the Soganlook, collecting his army with the avowed intention of attempting to recover Kars.

On the 30th of July General Mouravieff received orders to advance with the force posted at Hertweis in the direction of Ispindza, and open the roads for the passage of the army. This was a service of considerable difficulty, for the mountain on which Hertweis is situated is covered with a thick forest, through which there is hardly a path to be found; however, the cavalry made their way through it, and took up their position on the opposite side: the route was reported practicable, and on the two succeeding days the advanced guard moved forward, followed on the 1st of August by the general-in-

chief, with the remainder of the army. Near the village of Dzaboretti, a deputation arrived from the tribe of Kara Papaks to offer their submission*; the chiefs informing General Paskiewitch that the Seraskier had at last moved from the Soganlook, and was advancing with 35,000 men and 15 guns to cover Akhiska, the inhabitants of which had let him know that they had sent their wives and non-combatants into the mountains, and had no fears of the Russians, whom they felt confident of being able to repulse. The general did not feel that he could rely implicitly on this information, but he sent an officer with the deputation to ascertain the truth of their report, determining, if possible, to attack the Seraskier before he reached Akhiska, and drive him back to Soganlook. But to accomplish this purpose it would be necessary to use all possible despatch; and in spite of every exertion, the movements of the Russian army were not so rapid as could have been desired. The route lay over a continued succession of rapid ascents and descents, where the assistance of the whole of the troops was required to enable the guns and carts to pass; and even with incessant labour they

* They were a branch of the great tribe of Cossack and Bortschaloo who had emigrated from Georgia not long before.

were only able to advance forty miles in three days. By the 3rd of August the advanced guard took up a position on the right bank of the Kur, in front of a numerous body of Turkish cavalry, who made a demonstration of attacking the Russians, but retired as they advanced. The whole of the Turkish army encamped at the junction of the Kur and Akhiska rivers, six versts or four miles from the town, and occupied a hill on the opposite bank of the Kur, which was intrenched to cover the left flank of the camp, the part most exposed to the attacks of the enemy. On the return of the officer sent with the Kara Papak chiefs, he reported that the Seraskier had actually been at Ardahan on the 1st, and was expected on the 4th at Akhiska, and this news was confirmed on the 5th by positive intelligence from the town, where great rejoicings took place in honour of the event.

General Paskiewitch was now placed in rather an embarrassing position, for the reinforcements he expected under General Papoff had been delayed in the pass of Bordjain, and the number of the enemy in his front had been augmented fourfold by the junction of the Seraskier. To remain inactive, however, would have shown weakness, and encouraged the enemy: General Paskiewitch

therefore resolved to advance before the Seraskier should have been able to concert his measures; and accordingly on the 5th of August the army forded the Kur, which is here four and a half feet deep, and nearly 100 yards broad, and formed in order of battle.

On the right of the first line were one battalion of Shirwan, one battalion of Pioneers; and on the left, three battalions and six companies.

In the centre were 16 position guns. On the second line were two battalions of the Georgian Grenadiers in column of attack; and on the third line the regular cavalry, with 14 pieces of Cossack artillery, and the regiments of Cossacks and Georgian and Tartar militia. The rear was protected by four companies of infantry, 8 pieces of heavy, and 4 of light artillery; and the baggage and stores remained intrenched in camp, under the guard of the 14th Chasseurs and 4 pieces of artillery. The enemy made little opposition to the Russian advance, but confined themselves to a weak attempt on the redoubt which had been constructed the day before, and then retired, after a few cannon-shot had been fired, to reassemble in masses on both sides of the Akhiska river.

The care taken by General Paskiewitch of his

troops was very remarkable, as well as the coolness with which he conducted his operations; on reaching the first shade, he caused his troops to halt during the great heat of the day, although they were threatened by the enemy; and it was not till 4 P. M. they resumed their march. Sixteen position guns advanced at a trot, and opened so heavy a fire on the masses of the Turks as to disperse them, some flying to the town, others to the opposite side of the river. The whole cavalry, regular and irregular, were despatched in pursuit, and gained the height of Tanchan Pasha, which Prince Paskiewitch had always been very anxious to prevent from being occupied by the Seraskier, the ground being naturally strong, besides having the advantage of commanding the western side of the town. A redoubt was immediately constructed for its defence, and the camp was formed on the left of the Pashkoe stream, two and a half versts from the city, the left flank being covered by the whole of the cavalry.

The enemy remained perfectly inactive during these operations, and it was not until the parks and baggage began to move from the old camp that they caused them any annoyance; two masses of Turkish cavalry then made an attempt to break the covering

force, and penetrate to the line of carts, but they were repulsed on both flanks. Their total number might have been 4000 men in one body, and 5000 in the other, which was engaged in the attack on the left. Colonel Rievsky charged with four squadrons of heavy dragoons, but was quickly surrounded; he then made his men dismount and form into squares, that defied the utmost efforts of the Turks to break them; and on the arrival of more Russian troops, the Turks fled in disorder through the town. The camp was finally established during the night on a strong position which, by the boldness of his manœuvres, he had prevented the enemy from occupying, and which afforded the best situation for besieging the town, or threatening the army of the Seraskier.

Akhiska was once a district or province of Georgia, but was formed into an Atta Beylook at an early period of the Mahomedan power, and the greater part of the inhabitants forced to embrace the faith of Islam. Its principal strength consisted in the numerous emigrants from the different nations of the Caucasus, and the banditti which swarmed in Asia Minor and here found a secure asylum and favourable field for carrying on their system of plunder. The castle dates from the time of the

Georgian princes, and its name signifies "the Lord's Castle." The Governor or Pasha resided in the citadel with his personal guards, but he had little influence beyond its walls; these were built of stone, and, like the generality of such places, only adapted for defence before cannon was in use. The town was divided into three parts by ravines, with high rocky precipices, a feature not uncommon in this part of the country. The Roman Catholic Church is a handsome building, and, what is remarkable in Turkey, it has a dome over the centre; so that it is surprising it should not have been converted into a mosque. Some Italian or Jesuit priests were attached to the church, and had a considerable congregation. There was an exterior wall, but of no great strength, and in some places consisting only of an earth embankment well palisaded; some works resembling bastions had been constructed, probably after the unsuccessful attack by General Goudowitch, and about forty pieces of artillery in bad condition were distributed around the works. The garrison relied for their defence entirely on their musketry, and their hand to hand contests with the khunjar, a long, doubled-edged dagger, in the use of which they were remarkably expert. The force in the town amounted to

10,000 men, among whom were many Janissaries who had found an asylum at Akhiska, when the greater part of that corps was disbanded or massacred at Erzeroum and other towns in Asia Minor.

The Seraskier and Mustapha Pasha had brought 10,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, with some militia, amounting altogether to 30,000, who formed four separate camps outside the town, the principal one being near Soo Kelisea (Water Church), where the most important magazines were lodged. The Russian army occupied a formidable position for attacking both the town and the Turks, and there was a possibility of falling upon one division of the Turkish army, which was isolated from the rest, and would be unable to afford assistance to their comrades. Prince Paskiewitch felt the great difficulty there would be in capturing a town containing a garrison nearly equal to his own army, and protected by a covering army three times as considerable as the force he could bring against them: but he neglected no opportunities that occurred; such works as were necessary to ensure the safety of the camp during the absence of the greater portion of the army were hastily constructed; and on the morning of the 7th of August they were

reinforced by General Papoff, who arrived with 1800 men, having met with no obstruction from the Seraskier, though he ought to have been able, with his 30,000 men, to have completely annihilated this small force; instead of which, the Turks paid no attention to it, allowing themselves to be deceived by the demonstrations of the Russians against the place itself. In the meanwhile a prisoner taken at Akhalkalak, and who had been gained over, undertook to lead the army by roads not used to the principal camp of the Turks, near the valley of Tashkareh; the route was easy, but there were several ravines to be crossed; the flank of the post was, however, gained, and everything promised a perfect surprise, when unfortunately the rear-guard lost its way, and it was necessary to halt until it joined the troops at the distance of two miles from the enemy. The day had then broke; they were discovered by the Turks; the alarm was given, and the Seraskier was enabled to concentrate his troops.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of his situation, General Paskiewitch immediately ordered his troops to dislodge the Turks from a height in front, which was quickly crowned by the Russian artillery; but the Turks soon discovered that it was only a small portion of the Russian army

with whom they were engaged, and they advanced with their usual impetuosity, obliging the Russian left to retire under the protection of the mass of infantry; but the two regiments of the Grenadiers of Kherson, with two pieces of artillery, repulsed the Turks, and then occupied the height from which they had made their attack. The enemy, however, had not lost courage; they rallied, and again strove to regain the heights, but in vain; for the Russians succeeded in holding them till two battalions of the regiment of Erivan and the 41st Chasseurs arrived opportunely, and charged the Turks. Just at this moment a tumbril belonging to the 41st Chasseurs was blown up by the guns of the Turks, who again charged with great impetuosity, but were again driven back.

The circumstance of the Turks having their right resting on the fortress gave them a great advantage, of which it was necessary to deprive them, cost what it might; a demonstration made by the Russians, of marching on the Turkish depôts at Soo Kelisea, induced the Seraskier to commit the fatal error of withdrawing from the protection of the fortress, and weakening the southern camp. At this moment the firing of two mortars gave notice of the advance of General Mouravieff, who had taken on himself to advance from the camp

with two battalions and some artillery. The whole of the Russian cavalry, regular and irregular, was now formed on the right of the army threatening Soo Kelisea; the second column, intended to attack the southern camp, was composed of the 42nd regiment of Chasseurs, under General Korolkoff, with 14 pieces of horse-artillery, supported by General Borodine with the regiment of Shirwan, and again by General Mouravieff. The artillery took up a position commanding the Turkish post, and opened a heavy fire, which was not returned; and General Korolkoff, without waiting for his reserves, ordered his single battalion of Chasseurs, with 6 pieces of artillery, to advance up a position within 160 yards of the works. They had come within eighty yards of the trenches, when the Turkish artillery and musketry opened a terrible fire; General Korolkoff, who led the charge, fell dead, pierced by several balls; the Chasseurs were thrown into confusion, and retired. At this moment a tremendous storm of hail, thunder, and lightning burst over the combatants, absolutely drowning the report of the musketry and cannon. The Chasseurs were massed in confusion, and their muskets would not go off; and the Turks made a rush with their yataghans, threatening them with total destruction,

when just at this critical moment the regiment of Shirwan, led by Colonel Borodine, passing to the right of the Chasseurs, charged the Turks with the bayonet, and took the battery which had occasioned so much loss.

The Chasseurs now re-formed, and, led by Colonel Riout, the brave defender of Shesha, joined in the attack, and entered *pêle-mêle* with the enemy into the camp; General Mouravieff formed up with the two battalions he had brought with him; and the Turks, pressed on every side, abandoned their camp, and were pursued to the palisades of the town, leaving 4 guns and 7 standards, as well as 1000 men dead on the field. The capture of this important point decided the battle; the remainder of the Turkish army, scattered over an extent of seven miles, were cut off from the fortress, and the southern heights were strongly occupied by the Russian army, which now threatened to take in flank the other positions of the Turks. The Russian cavalry, which formed the right column, profiting by the confusion and hesitation of the enemy, fell upon them suddenly; the Turks fled in confusion to their remaining camps, hoping to be able at least to defend them; and Kousa Mahomed Pasha, though wounded in the thigh,

made a vain attempt to rally this confused mass, when, finding a Cossack regiment marching on his right to cut off his retreat, he hastened to enter Akhiska with 5000 infantry.

The remainder of the army of the Turks sought their other camps in detached bodies, pursued by the Cossacks and irregular horse with so much spirit, that they entered with the fugitives into the second camp near the mosque of Tulba. Another corps of the Russians captured the Turkish camp of Soo Kelisea, and there now only remained one corps of Turkish cavalry in good order, which threatened to turn the flank of the dragoons; three regiments of Cossacks were detached against them, when the Turks fled, leaving a gun behind them, and, quickly dispersing, sought refuge in the mountains, pursued by the irregular cavalry, who followed them to a distance of twelve miles, until they at last gained the road of Ardahan, which was blocked up by a great number of guns and ammunition carts. Here the Turks partly re-formed and attempted to cover the retreat of this mass, but, on the approach of the dragoons, they appeared to be seized with a panic, and again fled without offering any resistance. The Russians pursued them with great impetuosity, and cap-

tured the whole baggage, including 5 guns; they also took 500 prisoners, and the fourth camp near the village of Agha Pasha. The Turks had 1200 men killed, and their whole army fled towards the Algura Mountains, the pursuit being continued all night. This battle had been obstinately contested on some points: the Russians took four intrenched camps, ten standards, and a great number of carts, provisions, and much ammunition; they lost, besides General Korolkoff, 7 officers and 73 men, killed, and had 2 generals, 22 officers, and 377 men wounded; their loss was principally occasioned by the well-directed fire of the place. The wreck of the Seraskier's army retired by Ardahan, hoping to be able to unite with the troops of the Pasha of Moush, then advancing: General Paskiewitch, however, had directed General Bergmann to march to Ardahan to intercept the fugitives; and Prince Bekowitch Tcherkaskoi was detached with two battalions, three regiments of Cossacks, and 4 pieces of artillery; with these he surprised the rear of the Pasha's army, dispersed his troops, and recovered a number of Christian families, whom he was carrying into slavery. These events took place from the 12th to the 16th of August.

The dispersion of the Turkish army was now complete, beyond the possibility of their being soon reassembled, and the siege of Akhiska could be undertaken without interruption. Not only was the covering army of the Seraskier destroyed, but the Russians had gained possession of the ground most favourable for the operations against the town, being the position occupied by the intrenched camp on the southern heights. The height on which stands the Roman Catholic Church commands the principal part of the town, but is again commanded by the spot from which the Turks had been dislodged, where there was a level space of sufficient extent to allow of the construction of batteries, effectually to bombard the town. Notwithstanding the fatigue of the troops, who had been marching and fighting for twenty hours, the Turkish intrenchments were turned against the enemy; and at daylight a large battery, solidly built and provided with platforms, was finished in front of bastion No. 3. of the outer line of the defences of Akhiska, at the distance of 400 yards from the palisaded intrenchment and 1000 yards from the walls of the citadel.

This battery was armed with four mortars of

40 (about 5½-inch), four 24-pounder heavy guns, two licorns of 40 (a kind of howitzer), twelve pieces of 16, six field-pieces; eight light guns were also placed on the platform of the Turkish rampart, besides eight Turkish guns to sweep the parapets. These formidable preparations, and the defeat of the Seraskier's army, were thought likely to have shown the enemy the hopelessness of resistance; and Mouta Bey, the prisoner taken at Akhalkalak, was sent with a summons to surrender. But the only answer returned, was that the men of Akhiska were determined to bury themselves under the ruins of their town, which had never surrendered to an enemy. The garrison of Akhiska had never trusted for their defence to any one but themselves, and they were neither surprised nor discouraged at the defeat of the Turkish army. The troops in the town now amounted to 15,000 men, and there was an intrenched line mounting 70 pieces of artillery.

General Paskiewitch having performed his duty in endeavouring to spare the effusion of blood, had now nothing to do but to try and reduce the place by force; and accordingly all the guns opened at the same time, the suburbs took fire in several places, and the cannon-shot did great execution. Hardly

an hour had elapsed before a deputation arrived from a portion of the inhabitants, begging the fire might be suspended, and saying they would compel the Pasha to surrender. Kousa Mahomed Pasha, however, who was accused of having lost Kars by the slowness of his movements, and whose character had been further compromised by his defeat on the 9th, considered that a desperate defence of Akhiska would alone restore to him the confidence of his countrymen; and all further attempts at negotiation proved abortive. After a delay of two hours, the fire reopened, and continued the remainder of the day. During the night of the 15th and the succeeding days the investment of the fortress was completed, and several new batteries were constructed, for the purpose of deceiving the garrison as to the real point of attack, and compelling them to guard all points alike. One battery was established on the extreme left, on the ground before occupied by the counter approach of the enemy; the position was narrow, so that only 2 mortars of 80, and 3 position guns were placed in two tiers, with a high parapet, and giving a double line of fire. This battery enfiladed the whole southern face, and the bed of the Pashkoe Chie ravine; it opened at daylight

on the 11th, and soon silenced the guns opposed to it. The moon was nearly at its full, and the sky was so clear that the night hardly afforded any concealment to the working parties. Another battery was constructed during the day on the left branch of the Pashkoe Chie, and distant only 240 yards from the palisaded bank, and it battered the enemy's bastion No. 1. The sappers were protected by the Grenadiers of Georgia, lodged behind a steep slope, and by the fire of battery No. 7. This forced the Turks to withdraw their guns; but they made several sorties, which were repulsed by the fire of 7 pieces of artillery. To put an end to these interruptions, a parapet was carried across the valley and continued to the foot of the height on which the battery No. 7. was posted; while 2 pieces of light artillery, placed behind the work, swept all the roads leading to the fortress. On the night of the 12th, battery No. 8. was surrounded with a ditch and troops lodged to protect it, thus completing the investment of the place.

The distribution of the troops was as follows:—

Left flank.—Two battalions, regiments of Georgia; one battalion of Chasseurs; 6 pieces of artillery.

These occupied the ground from the village of Marda to the Pashkoe Chie.

Centre. — Two battalions of the regiment of Shirwan; two battalions, Chasseurs of the 42nd, occupying the ground about the southern heights.

Right flank. — Two companies of Grenadiers, intrenched in the second camp of the Turks and the mosque of Tulba.

The regular cavalry, two regiments of Cossacks, and 6 pieces of artillery were posted at Soo Kelisea, to observe the road from Ardahan.

The northern face of the town was built on perpendicular rocks, which afforded no means of ingress or egress to the garrison. The Turks, who were deceived by the number of the batteries erected, had given their principal attention to the works on the Russian left flank. They erected a high epaulment or traverse on the bastion at the angle, to cover themselves from the fire of the Russian guns, and they increased their batteries to protect the approach to the citadel and fortress.

On the 12th General Paskiewitch sent a second summons to the garrison to surrender; one principal object in taking this step being the hope of occasioning an insurrection among the Christian and Jewish inhabitants, as well as among the party who had already proposed to capitulate. He failed in his

object: for the Seraskier Kousa Mahomed Pasha, who had succeeded in gaining the supreme command, had taken the precaution of disarming all such of the inhabitants as were not Mussulmans, and he kept a strict watch over all those who might be inclined to favour the Russians; the summons was therefore treated with contempt, and it became necessary to carry on the siege with the greatest activity. In the meantime the besiegers' stock of ammunition and provisions had begun to diminish, and forage was scarce: it was impossible to await the arrival of fresh supplies; and as reinforcements were expected by the Turks, which it would be necessary to fight, the assault became inevitable. Lest they should be obliged to march against the expected reinforcements, and also to protect themselves against the sorties of the garrison, the Russians strengthened the works around the fortress, and took every precaution for the security of their camp: everything was completed on the night of the 13th and 14th.

Two batteries connected by a parapet were constructed, the one to form a breach a little to the right of the height, the other to destroy the palisades. The breaching batteries consisted only of two 24-pounders, and two position guns; the

other had one 24-pounder and one position gun. On the 14th, at daylight, the fire commenced. The isolated tower on the Kia Daug was soon destroyed, and the Turks were obliged to remove their guns to the platform round its base, pulling down a portion of the palisades in its front. The 15th of August, the day of the Assumption of the Virgin, was fixed upon for the assault; and a feint was made by Count Simonitch, who pretended to abandon battery No. 7., which was now useless, and concentrate his soldiers in No. 8. for an assault. The Turks, alarmed at this demonstration, concentrated the fire on Count Simonitch's force, dismounted one of his guns, and remained under arms all night. On the 15th the breaching batteries recommenced their fire, and, whilst they were completing the destruction of the defences, General Paskiewitch gave orders for the assault to take place at 4 P. M. In former wars the Turks had usually been attacked at night or at the first dawn of day, when they kept a good watch, but they retired to their quarters to sleep and refresh themselves during the day. This was also the hour at which the Russians were accustomed to relieve their guards and working parties; so that the assembly of the storming parties occasioned no alarm.

The principal attack was directed against bastion No. 3. and the adjoining palisades, which defended the level spot where stood the Roman Catholic Church; but two other false attacks were directed on other points, to draw off the attention of the besieged. The following was the disposition of the troops: —

Right attack. — 42nd Chasseurs; regular cavalry, dismounted; a regiment of Cossacks, dismounted; 13 pieces of artillery.

Left column. — Regiment of Georgia, two battalions; two regiments of Cossacks; one battalion of Chasseurs; 10 pieces of artillery.

The principal attack, composed of three battalions and 5 pieces of light artillery, advanced from the centre near redoubt No. 9., and was entrusted to Colonel Borodine, who was directed to make himself master of bastion No. 3., the adjoining palisades, and part of the suburb as far as the Roman Catholic Church. As soon as the bastion was gained, the 8th battalion of Pioneers were to follow with 5 pieces of light artillery, and form a lodgment in its gorges, destroy the palisades, and form a passage across the ditch: the advance of this party was covered by the fire of 27 pieces of artillery, posted on the heights commanding this

point, and which was directed over their heads. At 3 P. M. the officers in command of regiments received their final orders, and at half-past 3 o'clock the troops occupied their different positions; while the general-in-chief placed himself on the southern heights, from whence he had a full view of the whole of the operations.

All the batteries commenced firing at precisely 4 P. M.: at the same instant the regiment of Shirwan attacked the bastion on its front, and carried it in a few minutes; one battalion, extending to the right, established itself in the palisaded embankment; and Colonel Bourtsoff immediately intrenched the gorge of the captured bastion, and opened roads for the artillery across the ditch. This first success was gained in less than a quarter of an hour, and attended with very little loss.

The Turks had been completely surprised by the unusual hour of the attack, and had left only a small party to defend the breach; but roused by the news that the Russians were masters of their exterior defences, both inhabitants and garrison flocked to oppose them; a body of 500 men who occupied the Roman Catholic Church attacked the battalion dispersed *en tirailleurs*, and were soon

joined by 4000 more of the soldiers and inhabitants.

Colonel Borodine had just time to assemble the 2nd battalion of his regiment and take his assailants in flank and rear by the 1st battalion. The houses near the palisades offered a most determined resistance, and 60 yards of ground occupied by the Russians, in front of the Roman Catholic Cemetery, were gained at a loss of 10 officers. The assaulting column was now forced to act on the defensive, and their position became every moment more critical.

The Turks, from being masters of the Roman Catholic Church and of the ravine which separates it from the other parts of the town, were enabled to pour continually increasing masses on the breach by the great avenue which leads through the palace; besides which they were able to form behind the rocks of the ravine, and the tomb-stones of the burying ground, so as to destroy with impunity the two battalions who formed the chain. The efforts of the 1st battalion of carabiniers were unavailing to dislodge them; and though some of the most daring succeeded in escalading the church, they were immediately killed by the fire of the Turks, and fell back on the bayonets of their comrades.

The Turks now rushed on with their yataghans, even the women joining in the assault; and it required all the courage of the two battalions of Shirwan and their brave commander, Colonel Borodine, who had taken post on a tomb, to sustain the fury of the attack. His position made him a mark for the enemy, while he gave his orders with the greatest coolness, directing the movements of his men.

The action had continued for half an hour, without any decided advantage on either side, when the artillery turned the scale in favour of the Russians. A battalion of Pioneers had succeeded in carrying a field-piece and a licorn across the ditch; the first shot from the guns inspired the Russians with fresh courage, and by a desperate effort they carried the burying ground. Colonel Borodine sent to the General, saying he thought the position might be maintained, and he was killed just as he had signed his report. He was succeeded by Colonel Bourtsoff, who caused the remainder of the artillery to be established on the breach, and directed the fire along the ravine and against the church, which forced the Turks to retire within the houses.

The Pioneers succeeded in forming a lodgment

on the roofs of the nearest houses, and extended a communication by means of gabions across the esplanade, which secured the flank of the attack and covered the reinforcements which were sent to the assistance of the attacking column; but this service was not effected without considerable loss, especially in officers. A battalion of the regiment of Kherson having entered the place, a general attack soon followed. The 1st battalion of the regiment of Kherson rushed into the ravine, and two others directly on the church, which was escaladed, and the Turks lodged in the interior were forced to give way. The burying ground, filled with the slain of both parties, was now occupied by the Russians, and their position within the town was secured; two pieces of artillery were mounted on the roof of the church, and a battery of cohorn mortars on the platforms of the adjacent houses, the fire of which restrained the masses of the enemy, who fled up the main avenue and re-formed under the shelter of the houses and of the ravine that crosses the avenue. The combat ceased for a few moments, and then another battalion reinforced the Russians, in whose favour the day appeared to have decidedly turned.

Notwithstanding all these advantages, the posi-

tion of the besiegers on the esplanade of the captured bastion was far from secure; their left flank and centre were covered by the Roman Catholic Church, but the right was exposed. The Turks were not long in taking advantage of this circumstance, and, advancing along the palisades to the right of the breach, attacked the regiment posted there, both in front and flank, placing the safety of the whole Russian party which had entered the place in imminent danger. The general-in-chief, who could see the whole of the operations, was already prepared for this emergency, and had despatched Colonel Riout with the 42nd Chasseurs who attacked the palisades between bastions Nos. 3. and 4., covered by the fire of 4 pieces of artillery.

Twenty Sappers pulled up the palisades, and made a bridge across the inner ditch, over which Colonel Riout passed with the Chasseurs, and drove the enemy from this part of the Turkish defences, extending his men so as to unite with the Grenadiers on the esplanade. All difficulties were, however, not yet surmounted; the garrison and inhabitants continued to defend with obstinacy the masses of houses, which were only separated by very narrow lanes; and each house had to be taken

by storm. The attack remained undecided till 7 o'clock in the evening, when the howitzer shells set fire to some of the buildings, and the general determined to try and burn down the town. The houses of Akhiska afford facilities in some respects for such a mode of destruction, for though the lower stories are solidly built and capable of defence, they are frequently surmounted by a second story constructed of wood. Hand-grenades were supplied to the troops, which they were directed to throw into the windows or down the chimneys of such houses as they succeeded in escalading; and the cavalry were directed to bring straw and other combustible materials from the nearest point where they could be obtained.

One battalion of the regiment of Shirwan and the 1st Grenadiers set fire to the town in the direction of the citadel, the 42nd Chasseurs performing the same office to the suburb beyond the ravine; but the houses had still to be carried by storm under cover of the fire, as those barricaded refused to surrender; many even of the women voluntarily threw themselves into the flames, and more than 400 men perished in a mosque. At this juncture a breeze sprang up, which fanned the conflagration and caused it to extend with the greatest rapidity, so

that the garrison was forced to retreat with the utmost precipitation to the citadel ; some few even sought shelter in the Russian camp. The flames continued to spread, and soon reached a point which endangered the assailants as well as the besieged, when some fanatics attempted to fire the magazine in the Roman Catholic Church; these were, however, happily repulsed by the Sappers. General Osten Sacken was now ordered to attack the tower of Kia Daug, at the same time sweeping away such of its defenders as might still be found on the western face; the Turks abandoned the tower, leaving 5 pieces of artillery, which were immediately turned on the enemy by the Russian Sappers.

The garrison was now entirely withdrawn from the northern and western faces, but the besieged still occupied the batteries Nos. 1. and 2. of the old palisades, and from them a heavy fire had been kept up on the Russian battery No. 8. during the whole time of the assault: they were attacked in flank by two companies; the Turks surrendered with 2 pieces of artillery and 5 standards, and at the same time Count Simonitch carried the Turkish battery No. 1. The Russians were masters of all the palisaded line and five-

sixths of the place, and the flames quickly forced the Turks to evacuate the remainder: at three in the morning the firing had entirely ceased.

The Russian soldiers were so exasperated with the obstinate resistance of the besieged, that it was feared great excesses would take place: to prevent this, the greatest exertions were made; the assembly was continually sounded, the vigilance of the officers was unceasing, and discipline was strictly maintained: these efforts were crowned with success, for the conduct of the soldiers was excellent, and, above all, the women were perfectly respected. At sunrise numerous groups of Christians, headed by their priests, and many Turkish women, unveiled, sought the shelter of the Russian camp, while the soldiers might be seen risking their own lives to save the children from the flames of the burning houses.

A deputation from the garrison, headed by the Mufti and the head of the Janissaries, now waited upon the general, to demand a truce of five days; but of course no attention was paid to their request, and though an officer was sent to communicate with the Pasha, the Russian artillery was at the same time directed against the citadel. It must soon have been reduced to ruins, and the garrison might certainly

have been compelled to surrender at discretion; but it was preferred to allow the few that remained to depart with their baggage and arms, the public stores, ammunition, and artillery being given up to the victors; and at 8 P. M. the standard of St. George was hoisted on the citadel.

The garrison marched out with a haughty air of defiance, contrasting strongly with the sad dejected look of those of the inhabitants who had determined to accompany them, but whose countenances testified to the sorrow with which they abandoned for ever their once happy homes. In this obstinately contested assault the garrison lost no less than 5000 men. Of 400 artillery 50 only remained; of the 100 Janissaries the chief alone, the rest died to a man; of 1800 Lazi 1300 were killed, and of the inhabitants 3000: among the rest were several women in male attire, whose bodies were found among the slain. The Russians lost 2 generals, 8 officers of various ranks, and 118 men killed; 1 general, 51 officers, and 437 wounded; 67 pieces of artillery and 52 standards fell into their hands, together with 5 horse-tails (3 of Kousa Mahomed Pasha and 2 of Achmet Pasha); one-third of the city was burnt, and much damage had been done by shells.

A council was immediately summoned, Bebutoff, who was appointed commandant of the province, being president; pecuniary assistance was distributed to the most distressed families, and a proclamation issued, promising protection to the people.

Thus fell this hitherto unconquered city, celebrated as much for the dauntless courage of its inhabitants, as for the atrocities committed by them, and for their inveterate habits of slave-dealing and plunder. The siege of the place, and the assault under which it had at last succumbed, are very remarkable,—scarcely to be surpassed indeed by any recorded in history; and the boldness and talent of Prince Paskiewitch were on this occasion eminently conspicuous and well worthy the study of every military man. After the capture of Akhalkalak the Russian force, even including such a portion of the reserves as could be brought forward, hardly amounted to 14,000 men of all arms. The Seraskier had advanced on Akhaltsek *, with an army of 35,000 men, and the town could furnish with its auxiliaries, nearly 10,000 of the most determined men in Asia—perhaps in the world—who had successfully repulsed every army that had ever ventured to attack them. But by a series of able and rapid move-

* Or Akhiska.

ments, General Paskiewitch succeeded in occupying the most favourable ground for the attack of the place and the defence of the camp. The Turkish commander had, however, time to intrench his army in four separate camps, one of which rested on the heights which commanded the town, and secured a communication with it, rendering it necessary that the besiegers should dislodge the Turks before anything could be attempted against the place; while to raise the siege and retreat in the presence of so superior an army, was hardly possible. General Paskiewitch consequently formed the bold project of attacking, in the first instance, the Turkish camp nearest the town, and afterwards the others in succession. As the Russians had to march almost round the walls, an attempt was made to surprise the Turkish camp on the southern side, which failed from the troops losing their road, so that daylight broke when the head of the Russians was still at a distance of two miles, allowing time for the Turkish army to assemble; but notwithstanding this disadvantage, General Paskiewitch's manœuvres were so well calculated, that he induced the Seraskier to weaken the main point; this was carried, and the capture followed in succession by that of every one of the camps, the

Seraskier himself being compelled to take refuge in the fortress, which even then contained a garrison of greater numerical strength than the whole of the Russian army.

As a fortress Akhiska had no claim to strength, for the heights around it command every point of the works; but the broken nature of the ground afforded good cover for determined men. The breach, if such it could be called, was carried by assault at 4 P.M.; but in a few minutes the assailants had to struggle against 4000 men, who flocked to the spot resolved to resist to the last. After a series of well-directed attacks, aided by batteries, which enfiladed and took in reverse the garrison, the Russians succeeded in establishing themselves in one divison of the town, and by setting fire to such of the houses as had upper stories of wood, they were enabled to escalade the others, and lodge themselves on the roof, whilst the lower part was still occupied by the Turks. One Russian general was killed when standing over a hole, which he was not aware was only covered by turf. Desperate as was the resistance made, however, it was impossible it could avail anything; it only led to the more complete destruction of the occupants, and the place was taken.

During their long marches, in spite of their distance from the magazines, the troops were well supplied with provisions; and not a single convoy was intercepted, though they had to traverse one of the most difficult countries in the world. The army always carried one month's provisions on carts, and these were replenished by whatever the troops were able to collect. An ingenious plan was adopted, of having mills on waggons, which ground the corn as they marched. They did not indeed entirely succeed, but it was a novel idea, and might be turned to good account, if some improvements were made in their construction.

CHAP. VII.

GENERAL PASKIEWITCH'S DESPATCHES.—PRINCE WALDBEFSKY AGAINST ATSKHUR.—IT SURRENDERS.—GENERAL MOURAVIEFF PROCEEDS TO ARDAGAN. — IT SURRENDERS. — SUBMISSION OF THE COUNTRY IN GENERAL. — PROPOSAL OF THE QUEEN REGENT OF GURIEL.—GURIEL OCCUPIED BY GENERAL HESSE — ADVANCES ON BATOUM. — REPULSED BY THE LAZI. — DESCRIPTION OF BATOUM.— *VENDETTA*.—BAYAZEED. —THE KURDS OF ERIVAN JOIN THE RUSSIANS. — STATE OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH'S ARMY. — MASSACRE OF THE RUSSIAN MISSION AT TEHERAN.—CAUSE OF THE CATASTROPHE. — THE TURKS HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH THE AFFAIR. — MISREPRESENTATIONS OF M. FONTON. — MAJOR HART. — POSITION OF THE RUSSIANS. — PASHAS OF VAN AND MOUSH. — TRIBES OF THE ADSCHARA AND LAZI. — PROPOSED ATTACK ON AKHISKA. — PRECAUTIONS OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH — AND PRINCE BEBUTOFF, COMMANDING THERE. — SIEGE OF AKHISKA BY THE TURKS. — THEY ARE REPULSED. — THE TOWN BURNT. — GENERAL HESSE. — CHARACTER OF THE ADSCHARA AND LAZI.

GENERAL PASKIEWITCH determined to take advantage of the panic occasioned by the fall of Akhiska, and he despatched Prince Waldbefsky, with five companies of infantry, two regiments of Cossacks and 6 field-pieces, against Atskhur, a strong fortress commanding a pass leading into Upper Kartuel, and Immeretia. In addition to the inhabitants, there

was in the fort, a garrison of 500 Lazi, who tried to persuade the people to make a determined resistance; but the latter, yielding to the advice of two prisoners of Akhiska, surrendered at the first summons, though the castle was situated on the top of a high and almost inaccessible rock, and had 30 pieces of artillery for its defence, besides being furnished with abundance of provisions and ammunition.

Another detachment was despatched under General Mouravieff, against Ardagan, situated at the junction of the Kars and Erzeroum roads, General Bergmann being directed at the same time to advance from Kars. The latter officer was the first to appear before the town, and he immediately commenced a bombardment. The regular garrison had evacuated the place, and followed the Seraskier and the men of Akhiska; and the inhabitants, among whom were some men of Adschara and some Lazi, finding themselves on the point of being invested by the approach of General Mouravieff, who had been delayed by the difficulties of the road, thought it best to surrender. Thirty-one pieces of artillery were found in the place, with large stores of provisions and ammunition; so great had been the haste of the Turks to gain the western side of the Soganlook Mountains.

Many districts of Akhiska still refusing to submit, General Paskiewitch marched with the greater part of his army to Ardagan, and the report of this movement spread such terror to the gates of Erzeroum that part of the Turkish forces, which had begun to reassemble, retired or dispersed; all the chiefs of the thirty-two Sandjacks of Akhiska sent in their submission, and the authority of the Russians was firmly established.

The Queen Regent of Guriel proposed to General Hesse to occupy that country; but it appears her only intention was to betray the Russians, as she shortly afterwards fled to the camp of Osman Bey, with her minister and favourite; from thence she proceeded to Trebizond, where she is said to have become a Mahomedan, and to have been admitted into the Harem of the Pasha. General Hesse, however, proceeded to occupy Guriel; and the people showed great satisfaction at being freed from the tyranny of the regency. He then advanced on Batoum, but was totally repulsed by the Lazi before reaching it; and the Russians could scarcely have effected their retreat without the assistance of the Georgian militia of Guriel, Mingrelia, and Imeretia, who in a long and well-contested action

suffered more than the Russians. This battle, however, though unsuccessful, had the effect of paralysing the efforts of the men of Batoum.

The port of Batoum has always been coveted by the Russians, though to me it appears a place of little importance. It can scarcely be said to possess a harbour, being open to the north-west winds; but vessels lie close to the shore, and disembark with greater facility than at any other part of the coast. The roads are almost impassable; they either lead over the summits of the mountains, which are covered with snow, or through thick forests and among steep rocks; so that, as a point in a line of communication, the place is worthless, and the climate is deadly to strangers. The people appear in some respects to resemble the Georgians, but their language is different; and till within the last few years the authority of the Porte was merely nominal. The Lazi are considered the bravest infantry in Asia Minor, but are otherwise a lawless banditti, agitated by never-ending death feuds. The doors and windows of their houses are musket-proof; but, like Akhiska, the town might easily be burnt, for they are surrounded by dry thorn hedges, and many of the upper apartments are built of wood, or even of branches of trees. A remarkable instance

of the pertinacity with which the relations of persons slain in a quarrel follow up their feuds, occurred while I was in the country in 1819. A Laz of Batoum had killed a man with whom he was at feud, and in vain endeavoured to avert the vengeance of his family by the payment of money and other sacrifices. Every step he took was watched by the relations of the murdered man; and notwithstanding he used every possible precaution to elude their vigilance, they found their opportunity at last. Seven years elapsed before it arrived, but still their desire for vengeance was not abated; and one day the man opening his shutter after a heavy thunderstorm, was shot dead by his enemy the moment he appeared.

A quantity of timber, particularly walnut and box, as well as honey and slaves, are exported to Constantinople. Vessels trading to Batoum always keep a good look-out, and even take hostages for the security of their agents whilst transacting business.

The province of Bayazeed was occupied by Prince Tchefchewadza, a Georgian nobleman of Kakhetia, and a major-general in the Russian service, who had been entrusted with the government of

Erivan. The Pasha Bukhal Pasha (the shopkeeper) had offered to submit to the Russian authorities, even before the Russians were prepared to commence the campaign, but was refused, General Paskiewitch wishing at that time to avoid any appearance of aggression, as his preparations were not sufficiently advanced; and Bukhal Pasha, whose sole object was plunder, then made some irruptions into the district of Khoey, held at that time by General Penkratieff, as security for a part of the contribution, which was not paid till the summer of 1828. As before stated, the Kurdish tribes, who form the only efficient portion of the military force in this quarter, were very ill-disposed towards the Turkish government, and though they might not be willing actually to join the Russians, they withheld their excellent cavalry from the service of the Sultan. The Pasha of Moush attempted to aid the Seraskier with about 10,000 men; but his principal object was the hope of carrying off the Armenian population in the neighbourhood of Kars, and endeavouring to join at Ardagan, he was defeated by the garrison of Kars, and fled through the mountains to his own government. Prince Tchefchewadza succeeded in making himself master of Bayazeed, Diadin, and Topruck Kulla, which had

the further effect of preventing the Kurds from rising in favour of the Seraskier; even if they were so disposed. The Kurds of Erivan joined the Russians, and served well with their troops; Hussein Agha, by whom they were commanded, had been outlawed, and for many years the tribes had remained under the Persian government; but he was never cordial in his submission, though his daughter was married to Hussein Khan, the Persian Sirdar. He could command the services of 3000 excellent cavalry.

The campaign was now ended, and the troops took up their winter quarters; 2361 infantry, 326 cavalry, with 4 pieces of field artillery, under Prince Bebutoff, were stationed at Akhiska. Kars had 2700 men of all arms; in Bayazeed were nearly 10,000 men under General Penkratieff, who had occupied Khoey. In the campaign of 1828, which had only lasted five months, three pashaliks had been conquered, namely, Kars, Akhiska, and Bayazeed: there had been captured three fortresses, three castles, 313 cannon, 195 standards, 11 horse-tails, and 8000 prisoners; besides which some expeditions had been successfully directed against the Circassians of the Kara Chie and the Lesghis of Daghestan, of whom the Awars submitted to

General Rievsky, and Tabasseran to General Krabbe.

The Russian army with its detachments, consisted of only 18,000 men, and their total loss had been 3200, many having perished from the plague and the deadly climate of the shores of the Black Sea. The magazines taken from the enemy reduced the expenses to 5,000,000 of rubles, which was little more than the troops would have cost in time of peace.

The numerical force of Prince Paskiewitch's army might be considered inadequate to the successful prosecution of the next campaign, for though 20,000 recruits had been directed to Georgia, the length of the march rendered their arrival uncertain, and they would have to be drilled before they could take their place in the ranks. The Prince therefore raised four regiments of cavalry from the Mahomedan provinces subject to Russia, besides a fine body of horse from Nackshiwan of the Kangerloo tribe, who did excellent service: a battalion of infantry was also formed by volunteers from the Persian regiments of Erivan and Nackshiwan, all excellent soldiers. The Georgian militia came forward in much greater numbers than on any former occasion, a result due to the

high character Prince Paskiewitch had gained for justice and humanity.

Owing to the unfortunate massacre of the Russian mission at Teheran, the Russian general had some fears of being obliged to leave a portion of his army in observation on the Persian frontier; but this fear arose from an erroneous impression that that deplorable catastrophe had been occasioned by the intrigues of the Turkish government, an idea which was totally without foundation. That fatal event was solely to be attributed to the insolent and unjustifiable conduct of the Christian servants of the Russian mission. Nothing could be more remote from the character and wishes of Futteh Ali Shah than the perpetration of such a crime, by which not only was his own life endangered but the very existence of the Persian throne placed in jeopardy; it obliged him for his personal safety to cause the gates of the citadel to be closed, and there he remained blockaded for four days. I was intimately acquainted with M. Grebiadoff, the unfortunate Russian minister, than whom a milder or more amiable man could not be found, but unhappily he did not exercise the necessary control over his Georgian and Armenian servants, many of whom were men of the worst character.

The most irritating part of the Russian minister's duty was that of demanding the slaves belonging to the Russian territories, under the provisions relating to them inserted in the last treaty. These slaves had for the most part been adopted into their Mahomedan masters' families, and had even frequently become connected with them by marriage. A proceeding of this kind sufficiently vexatious to the King of Persia himself had occurred not long before. Hadja Mirza Yacoub, an Armenian by birth, who had been brought into Persia as a slave in the year 1804, had been placed in the Harem of the King as an attendant and guard on the ladies of the royal seraglio. He subsequently became treasurer, and was accused of having secreted 40,000 tomaums (24,000*l.*), which he strenuously denied,—at the same time claiming the right of returning to Erivan, his native country, now a province of Russia. His claim appears to have been supported by the Russian embassy, though the treaty could hardly have been with justice interpreted in his favour, seeing that he had left Erivan twenty-two years before it belonged to Russia. Futteh Ali Shah had been greatly irritated by this proceeding, nevertheless it had been passed over: an occurrence, however, of a similar nature,

proved the immediate cause of the insurrection to which the Russian mission fell a sacrifice. The duty of searching for these slaves was entrusted to a miscreant, Rustum by name, an Armenian, who had repeatedly changed his religion, and who was in the habit of using the most unwarrantable language, and even resorting to personal violence towards people of respectability,—an offence for which on a former occasion he had been expelled from the Russian mission at Tabreez at the instance of Abbas Mirza. He had subsequently, however, been employed in the police of General Paskiewitch's army, and by a most unfortunate chance was now attached to the Russian mission.

This man discovered that two young women from Erivan were in the family of Ali Yar Khan, and insisted on their being given up, though the girls themselves could not be induced to express any wish to that effect, and one of them was even engaged to be married to a head servant of the Khan. It was insisted nevertheless that they should remain at the Russian mission for a few days, to ascertain that they were free from intimidation; but Rustum while engaged in this affair made use of the most indecent language, and ordered the women to be taken to the bath, saying they were reserved for

some of the mission. The people now rose and attacked the house in which the embassy was lodged; the first victim was Mirza Yacoub, the eunuch, who expired under numerous wounds, and after considerable resistance, in the course of which several of the assailants were slain. The two women were carried off; the crowd for a time dispersed, and it was hoped the embassy might escape. The mob, however, had only retired with the dead bodies of their countrymen, which they displayed publicly in the mosques and bazaars; and they then returned in greater numbers, and bringing with them, besides the Looties (plunderers, and other persons of bad character), even some of the military tribes in attendance on the King. The Russian mission had not had time to secure the approaches to their dwelling, and, after a brave but irregular resistance, were overpowered and killed. Rustum was knocked down, but reserved for a more lingering death; he was dragged through the streets, and died after most protracted sufferings. Forty-four of the mission perished; and any Europeans of whatever nation, who might have been found in their company, would have been included in the massacre. Some of the servants of the Russian mission were lodged in the stables of the British embassy, but

they shared the fate of the rest. So general and violent indeed was the first burst of the insurrection that the ordinary guards and police, in endeavouring to protect the embassy, had been completely overpowered and obliged to seek refuge in the citadel, in which the royal palace was situated. The King was compelled to close the gates, and he remained a prisoner in his capital for four days; but at the end of that time the people, having neither leaders nor object, began to get tired of the insurrection. The King was now able to send out his guards, who despatched all those found in arms; many of the men of bad character, who had led the riot, were arrested and executed; others had their eyes put out, and five of the heads of districts were decapitated. The inhabitants were then terrified and subdued, and returned to their allegiance.

As for Turkish agency having anything to do with this calamity, it must be observed in the first place that the Ottoman influence was never so low in Persia as at that time, and secondly that there were then no Turkish agents there at all. Nor was the King of Persia more to blame than the Sultan; and after having paid so large a contribution, he felt no inclination to renew a contest which, considering how little reliance he could

place on his people, was evidently hopeless. A very detailed account of the massacre of the Russian embassy was published in Blackwood's Magazine for September 1830, No. 171. It was written by the secretary of the Persian nobleman who conducted the Russian mission to Teheran, and translated by Major G. Willock. M. Grebiadoff was the brother of the Princess Paskiewitch, and had recently married a beautiful Georgian lady, daughter of Prince Tchefchewadza. During his absence his wife resided with Lady M'Donald Kinneir, and had returned to her home before hearing of the death of her husband. I have stated these facts in detail, because Monsieur Fonton has related them incorrectly; and it is not true that Monsieur Amburger, the consul, or rather the second in the mission, had left his post by the advice of the English. If any advice at all was given, it was against his doing so. All the apology that could be offered to the Court of St. Petersburg was made by the son of Abbas Mirza (Khosroe Mirza), who proceeded to that city to express the regrets of his sovereign and explain the circumstances relating to the sad occurrence; the sorrow and consternation of Abbas Mirza himself were extreme.

M. Fonton also accuses the English of having

attempted to embroil the Russians and the Persians, a charge which is utterly false. It was absolutely necessary, after the dispersion of the Azerdbijan army during the Russian war, that what remained of it should be assembled, and recruits obtained to fill up the ranks, which are always the same in peace or war; they consist of fourteen battalions, two of which, however, those of Nackshiwan and Erivan, no longer belonged to Azerdbijan. Captain Hart* (of his Majesty's 65th regiment), who according to M. Fonton had offered to raise 6000 men, had been left with six sergeants, to drill and discipline the Persian infantry; he was attached for that purpose to the British embassy, and for several years had been so employed, but never took part in any of the military operations; the story of his interference is perfectly absurd. As soon as the troops had been mustered, I think it was found necessary that about 6000 men should be raised to complete the force, and orders to that effect were given; and, that the jealousy of Russia might not be excited, the corps retired to their respective districts. Arms were purchased in England to replace those wanting, and in 1829 the men were assembled at Oudjan for drill. Major Hart died in 1830, and a new set of officers under

* Mentioned by M. Fonton as *Un nommé Hart.*

Major Passmore arrived to perform the same duty. Prince Dolgoroucki, who had been in charge of Abbas Mirza at Dokhergan, was appointed to succeed M. Grebiadoff, and M. Amburger returned as consul. Both employés were very popular, and gave perfect satisfaction to Abbas Mirza.

The success of the campaign of 1828 had placed all the most advantageous points for invading Asia Minor in the hands of the Russians. A great quantity of provisions had been drawn from Persia, and the magazines found in Erivan had not yet been entirely exhausted. Still the troops had to be dispersed in the winter with more regard to the facility of obtaining subsistence and shelter than to purposes of defence. The quantity of snow which covers the country during the spring renders the communications at all times difficult, and in winter they are scarcely practicable for troops or convoys. Too much reliance was placed on the supposed terror of the Turks at their defeat and the capture of Akhiska. The Seraskier Kousa Mahomed Pasha and the chief Halib Pasha were displaced, and Haghi Saleh Pasha, who had been Superintendent of the Gumisch Khana mines, and Haghi Pasha, governor of Sevas,

were now appointed from these secondary charges to assume the command of the Pashalik of Erzeroum, the second government in Turkey.

These officers lost no time in reorganising the remains of the army, and they called on all the governors of districts to furnish recruits or money. The considerable sums supplied by these contributions, added to what was remitted from Constantinople, sufficed to meet the expenses of the army, which it was hoped might be able to take the field in the spring with 80,000 men and 60 pieces of artillery, to serve which gunners had been sent from Constantinople. The Pashas of Van and Moush were directed to assemble their forces and attack Bayazeed: but they were rated at 50,000 men, nearly double the number they could have furnished at any time; and at this period they contributed no effective body whatever. As before observed, the Kurds, who composed their principal force, were much disaffected towards the actual government of Turkey, and by the influence of Russian agents had been engaged to remain neuter. Erzeroum was ordered to be put into a state of defence, and was provided with a numerous artillery. The immediate object in view, was the recovery of Akhiska, which had always been

considered the advanced post and bulwark of Mahomedanism. On the possession of this place depended not only the Porte's influence with the mountaineers of the Caucasus, but the more important point of its command over the great tribes of Adschara and Lazi, among whom could be collectively assembled 40,000 of the best troops in Asia, and which had always been the scourge of Georgia. The new Seraskier applied to Achmet Bey, the chief of the Adschara, promising that, in the event of success, he should be appointed Pasha of Akhiska, and that in *his person* the office should be raised to the dignity of a Pasha of three tails; but the proposal was coldly received by Achmet Bey, who pleaded poverty and want of means. Contrary to the usual custom of the Turks, both money and supplies of all kinds were freely furnished to him, and at the same time a threat was intimated that his head should pay the forfeit of his disobedience The threat he might have treated with contempt, from the great strength of his country and his power of calling in the Russians, who were always ready to become his allies; but the prospect of adding to his hereditary dominions so productive a country as Akhiska (for should the Russians be expelled he might afterwards set the Turkish government at

defiance) was too great a temptation to be resisted. Achmet Bey immediately found therefore that he was able to assemble 15,000 men of Adschara and Lazi; and he was soon joined by 6000 regular Turkish troops, with 6 pieces of artillery. The governor of Trebizond sent 3000 to Batoum, either to reinforce Achmet Bey, or to make a diversion into Guriel; and the new Seraskier was to make a demonstration against Kars, to draw the attention of the Russians from the point really intended to be attacked.

It had been found impossible to make all the necessary improvements in the defences of Akhiska, nor could more men be spared for its garrison, which consisted only of two battalions of the regiment of Shirwan; but the general-in-chief, soon hearing of the intended attack, managed to reinforce it by throwing in a battalion of the regiment of Kherson. General Bourtsoff assembled at Suran two battalions, a regiment of Cossacks, and 5 pieces of artillery; and the pass of Bordjain was occupied by the Georgian militia. General Hesse was then directed to penetrate with all his forces and the men of Guriel into the country of the Adschara. On the 28th of January, Achmet Bey entered the territory of Akhiska, and established himself at

Dighur, rousing an insurrection in the neighbouring districts. His brother went to occupy the pass of Bordjain, leading to Georgia and Immeretia, supported by the Turkish cavalry.

The smallness of Prince Bebutoff's force in Akhiska, obliged him to confine his defence to the citadel, and abandon the position of the Catholic Church, by which it was commanded. Even the houses which approached the castle walls, from motives of humanity, had not been destroyed, as, after the rest of the town had been burnt, they afforded the principal shelter for the remaining inhabitants. On the 19th of February the enemy was close to Akhiska, and the Christian and Mahomedan inhabitants begged to be allowed to enter the citadel: 700 Christians were admitted; but it was judged unsafe to trust the Mahomedans, and with reason, as it afterwards appeared that many of them were in communication with Achmet Bey. On the following day, the Adschara occupied the town, and immediately began the assault, covered by the fire from the heights and the houses adjacent to the ramparts. The attacks of the enemy were continued with great courage and perseverance for an hour, when their loss from the fire of the cannon, musketry, and hand-grenades forced them

to desist. They then contented themselves with keeping up an incessant fire from the tops of the houses and from the Catholic burying ground. The soldiers could hardly venture to appear on the walls; but with the help of sand-bags, and by closing all the embrasures, some cover was obtained. Bands of the enemy then began collecting such of the unfortunate inhabitants as remained, on whom, men, women, and children, they committed every species of cruelty and atrocity; many were brought on the terraces of the buildings and there massacred; the women were subjected to treatment too disgusting to describe, and others were carried away into slavery. Achmet Bey, finding the plan of an assault did not answer, established a battery of cannon in the Catholic burying ground, and another strong work before the principal gate, to prevent the besieged from making sorties. In four days the battery opened upon the castle, and the guns being tolerably well directed, made some partial breaches in the walls; they were, however, at last silenced by the fire of the Russian artillery. An attempt was made to cut off the water of the place, but the success of this plan was prevented by the sally of a company of Grenadiers.

The situation of the garrison became every day

more precarious; not only had the works constructed by the Russians on their attack not been destroyed, so that the enemy now took advantage of them, but the houses which adjoined the ramparts afforded every facility for the enemy to escalade under cover of their fire; and the town was so completely surrounded that no messenger had been able to reach the Russian stations of Ardagan, Atskhur, Ardahan, or Kars. As before related, Achmet Bey had despatched his brother to occupy the defile of Bordjain, by which route the troops on the Black Sea might advance to the relief of Akhiska. The Kur here flows through a deep rocky ravine, and the river was swollen by the melting of the snows; but happily General Bourtsoff had collected a small force at Suran, and felt as strongly as the Turkish chief the importance of maintaining this passage. He succeeded in gaining one end of the defile, passing the river on rafts, and repulsed the attack of Avide Bey, who returned to Atskhur.

In the meanwhile, the siege of Akhiska was continued with vigour; the Turkish artillery had materially injured the walls, and a mine was in progress to complete their destruction; but the defence of the works, continued as firm as

ever, and the breaches were partially repaired. Achmet Bey now summoned the garrison to surrender, informing them that the detachment marching to their assistance had been defeated. No attention was paid to this communication, for from the movements of the enemy the Russian commandant concluded that assistance was at hand, and his surmise was correct; at daylight on the 16th of March there appeared symptoms of a retreat. The artillery of the place, including every piece that could possibly be brought into play, now commenced a general cannonade; the men of Adschara began to retreat in all directions, and five companies of Grenadiers with two guns sallied out, and carried by assault the post in front of the principal gate, pursuing the enemy for some distance. Achmet Bey collected about 500 of his best men and two guns; but was routed with the loss of his artillery and many of his men.

Prince Bebutoff returned to the town, where some plunderers still remained; these were put to death; such as took refuge in the houses perished in them; and by three o'clock in the afternoon not a vestige of the enemy was to be seen. The town was entirely destroyed, and, of its numerous popu-

lation, the 700 Christians admitted into the citadel alone had escaped the general destruction.

General Hesse advanced with a battalion, some light artillery, and 1500 men of Guriel; and attempted to penetrate from Guriel to Tchadshorsk, the residence of Achmet Bey, but found the obstacles, from the swellings of the torrents, the snow, and the difficulty of the roads, so great that he could not make any impression. Hearing that a detachment of 7000 or 8000 Turks had landed at Batoum, and were intrenching themselves at Lamini, a village between Batoum and Fort St. Nicholas, and that a further force of 10,000 men was expected, he moved in that direction. On the 5th of March, with 2530 men, all the force he could collect, he marched to attack Kia Oglan Pasha, who was intrenched, according to the custom of the country, behind a parapet formed of strong hurdles, the space between them being filled with earth. One side rested on the sea, the other on a swampy forest. The regular Russian troops marched by the sea-shore, the others through the forest.

The Turks kept up a heavy fire on both columns, but the artillery having breached the Turkish parapet, the camp was stormed and taken with all their artillery stores and ammunition. The

loss of the Russians amounted to 22 officers and 187 men, killed and wounded, — the principal loss falling on the men of Guriel, who behaved with the greatest gallantry. It is difficult to estimate the loss of the Turks: 163 were left dead in the camp; but the men of Guriel killed great numbers in their retreat through the forests. The two villages of Kantriche and Kouboulletti were occupied by the Russians.

The over-confidence of the Russians had, however, nearly brought upon them a very severe blow, for the Turkish attack on Akhiska in the depth of winter, a season very unusual with them for such operations, was boldly planned, and, considering the disorganised state of the Erzeroum army, tolerably well executed. It was completely unexpected by the Russians, who had taken no measures to strengthen Akhiska, and to repair the damage occasioned by the siege.

The warlike character of the Adschara and Lazi may be gathered from the circumstance of their being able in a few weeks, and at such a season of the year, to bring into the field 12,000 men, forming three-fourths of the invading force. The Adschara are governed by a chief, sometimes elective and at others hereditary. The Lazi are di-

vided into a number of small clans, but the union is intimate between them. Both together, they may amount to 60,000 families: their origin is unknown, and, in Europe, almost their very existence. Their language has a slight resemblance to the Georgian, but it differs from it sufficiently to be considered a separate tongue. They inhabit the head of the great range of Taurus, and their country is perhaps even more strongly defended by nature than the Caucasus. They profess a nominal subjection to Turkey, but pay no tribute; while, on the other hand, they receive large presents in arms and clothing from the Turkish government. The Seraskier of Erzeroum can only obtain their aid as troops near their own country, and by paying them very highly; but they are very insubordinate, and will only obey their own chiefs, and not even them implicitly. Moreover, they are always ready to desert, either for the purpose of returning home with their plunder, or to gratify any other inclination.

CHAP. VIII.

GENERAL PENKRATIEFF. — DISTRIBUTION OF HIS TROOPS. — CLIMATE. — MOUNTAINS OF SOGANLOOK. — ARMY OF THE SERASKIER — OF HAGHI PASHA. — MANŒUVRE OF GENERAL PASKIEWITCH. — DIFFICULTY OF THE ROAD. — RAVINE OF KAÏNLY. — GENERAL OSTEN SACKEN. — SUCCESS OF THE RUSSIANS. — NARROW ESCAPE OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH. — ZAVINN. — MILL DOOSE. — DEFEAT OF THE SERASKIER. — HAGHI PASHA TAKEN. — GENERAL PASKIEWITCH MARCHES AGAINST ERZEROUM. — TURKISH TROOPS. — HUSSEIN AGHA. — TURKISH COURIERS INTERCEPTED. — LETTER OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH. — GREAT HEAT. — MUTINY IN THE SERASKIER'S ARMY. — HUSSEIN KULLA — ABANDONED BY THE TURKS — OF GREAT ANTIQUITY—MENTIONED IN THE RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND. — MOUND OF STONES MENTIONED BY XENOPHON. — ERZEROUM. — PROCLAMATION OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH. — NEGOTIATIONS. — SURRENDER OF ERZEROUM. — ATTEMPT OF THE PASHA OF VAN AGAINST THE RUSSIANS IN BAYAZEED — REPULSED.

GENERAL Penkratieff, who had been stationed at Khoey until the second instalment of the contribution levied on Persia had been paid, now took the command of the troops forming the second corps, at Sirdar Abad, leaving four battalions of infantry, one regiment of Cossacks, and 12 pieces of artillery, for the defence of Bayazeed. On the 6th of April he passed the Arpa Chie at the Armenian

Convent of Khochewanka, and occupied the village of Ayazum, a second body taking post at Bachketchek under General Mouravieff; while General Bourtsoff, with a light detachment, scoured the country about Akhiska in all directions, to prevent the inhabitants from joining the Adschara. On the 25th of April, Achmet Bey made another irruption with 5000 men, and took post at Kevil, fifty miles from Akhiska; but he had no artillery, nor any efficient body of cavalry; and when General Bourtsoff, who immediately marched against him, came up with his party at Sourkh Ab (Red Waters), he was obliged to take post in the village, and even this he abondoned during the night, and fled across the mountains; after which General Bourtsoff returned to Atskhur, and occupied the defile of Bordjain. Achmet Bey's men had, however, brought the plague with them, a far more serious calamity than any that could have been inflicted by their military operations; and it involved the necessity of the strongest precautions and most energetic measures to prevent its spreading among the Russian troops.

General Penkratieff's force was augmented to eight battalions of infantry, one regiment of Lancers, two of Cossacks, and two regiments of the newly raised Mahomedan cavalry, with 32 pieces of artil-

lery; these formed the left wing of the army posted at Sabatan, forty-six miles from Gumri, and the same distance from Kars; the right wing, under Bourtsoff, remained about Akhiska. The troops assembled at Bachketchet consisted of four battalions of infantry, one regiment of Dragoons, and the 3rd Mussulman regiment; and another corps of two regiments of Cossacks and 6 light guns took post at Akhalkalak, at equal distances from Akhiska, Ardahan and Gumri: by these arrangements all the troops could unite in four days. A corp of three battalions was placed at Sudji Soo, under Colonel Miklaszerski, to support the left wing. On the 31st of May, General Paskiewitch joined his head-quarters at Gen Derra near Akhalkalak.

The Turkish forces, consisting of 50,000 men, were said to be encamped at Hussein Kulla, but were in reality scattered as far as Erzeroum, the advanced guard being intrenched on the southern declivity of the mountains of Soganlook, under Haghi Pasha. The Kia (second in command) was at Schumchet with 15,000 men, awaiting the junction of other troops under Tuschi Oglan; these formed the left wing of the Turks, and were to march to Ghila, at the sources of the Kur, and act

on the communications of Generals Mouravieff and Penkratieff. This last named general was directed to approach Kars, and establish himself at Karagouran, General Miklaszerski remaining with five battalions at Sudji Soo.

The commander-in-chief advanced to Ardagan, which was carefully fortified, and a battalion placed in garrison; but the season was still adverse to active operations; for in this cold region, even on the 6th of June, the mountains and lower hills were still covered with snow, and the grass was not yet available for the horses and cattle. This is perhaps as difficult a season for military operations as any in the year. The snow, which is frozen and tolerably hard during the winter and early spring, now becomes soft, and cattle sink in it up to the shoulders, while the smallest streams swell into rapid torrents. In consequence of this, the troops suffered much on their march; but at last they all succeeded in reaching their various destinations, and the two armies found themselves in front of each other. The Russian force amounted to about 12,500 infantry, 5700 cavalry, and 70 pieces of artillery; but the battering train was obliged to be left at Kars, in consequence

of the appearance of the plague among the men. Besides the Mussulman regiments, however, there were some thousands of Georgian and Armenian militia, altogether bringing the Russian army to nearly 25,000 men. The Turks were in a worse state than they had ever been, owing to the Janissaries having been destroyed; while there had not been time fairly to organise the new Nizam or disciplined troops, who were intended to supply their place: they might amount to 60,000 men of all arms; and their artillery — the most efficient portion of their force — mounted 80 or 100 guns.

On the 22nd June General Paskiewitch reviewed the army at Kainly, fifteen versts from Kars, on the Erzeroum road, and twenty miles from the great chain of the Soganlook Mountains, the strongest feature on this line, and which are so lofty that they are not free from snow till the month of August. Their sides are covered with extensive pine forests, and numerous branches of the Arras flow through ravines bounded by perpendicular rocks, which form, at short intervals, many advantageous points of defence. Two main roads lead over this formidable barrier, but there are several minor ones, though some of them are mere

footpaths, and, in the state they then were, quite unavailable for military purposes. The road on the right bears the name of the Zavinn road, from a castle of that name; the other is called the Medginghert road. The principal disadvantage of this line for the defending army is the absence of any cross lines of communication; consequently a force occupying these two passes must be divided, and has no means of mutual support, except by a circuitous route to the rear. One of these roads the Medginghert, was already occupied by Haghi Pasha; but the other was still open, as it was to have been held by the Seraskier, who was not yet arrived; and Prince Paskiewitch did not fail to take advantage of the circumstance. Nothing could be more favourable to him, indeed, than this distribution of the Turkish army; and he determined to manœuvre in front of Haghi Pasha whilst the main body of the Russians passed the Soganlook Mountains and attacked the Seraskier, whose defeat would enable them to turn the position of Haghi Pasha and prevent the junction of the two Turkish armies. Prince Paskiewitch had reckoned with confidence on the slowness which characterises all the Turkish movements, and the event proved the accuracy of his judgment. A force was left under

General Bourtsoff, who was ordered to threaten Haghi Pasha, and draw his attention to the danger apparently impending in that direction: this manœuvre was executed with perfect success; and a party of Cossacks penetrated to the camp of the Turks, who sallied out with the greatest part of their force, and advanced till they came to the intrenchments thrown up by the Russians to cover General Bourtsoff. General Paskiewitch in the meanwhile with the rest of the army began the ascent of the great pass of the Soganlook: after a fatiguing march of thirty-nine versts*, the summit was gained; and, the general having heard the firing of the detachment making the false attack on Haghi Pasha, a second column was detached to threaten his flank, thus first making him aware of the progress achieved by the Russians in crossing the great barrier of the Soganlook,—an exploit which had been accomplished without loss, and which may be compared to the celebrated passage of the Alps by the French under Napoleon. The demonstration made on the flank of Haghi Pasha served to show that the Turkish camp was more difficult of access on this point than in

* Twenty-eight miles.

front, for the country here is everywhere cut by very deep ravines, whose sides are covered with dense forests of fir-trees; and the bottom of the ravines are either marshes, or filled with masses of broken rock. Prince Paskiewitch therefore resolved to pursue his march on the Zavinn road, till he reached Zaghinn and Kara Oudjan, from whence Haghi Pasha's camp could be attacked on the rear by a comparatively open country. As it was impossible to leave the great park, consisting of 3000 carts besides beasts of burden, at such a distance from the main army, General Bourtsoff received orders to move it forward as quickly as possible; and, to prevent Haghi Pasha from molesting its march, a general demonstration was made on the whole extent of the flank of the Turkish camp, which induced them to concentrate their forces, and left the convoy free to proceed. Osman Pasha who commanded the advance of the Seraskier, took up a position on the Zavinn road ten miles from the Russian camp, at Bordass, which is surrounded by high rocky peaks, and through which runs the Sudji Soo, where the Turks immediately began to intrench themselves. To have allowed the enemy to fortify this point would have compromised the whole Russian army;

orders were therefore immediately given to Colonel Fredericks to move forward with a regiment of infantry, one of Cossacks, and 4 pieces of artillery, supported by five battalions, 10 pieces of artillery, and another regiment of Cossacks. Besides this three half battalions took post on the Tekmick river, and another half battalion occupied a height on the Turkish left flank, cutting off their retreat to their camp of Mill Doose. The detachment of Colonel Ouskoff who had first discovered the Turkish encampment, had maintained its ground with the Mahomedan regiment till relieved by the force under Colonel Fredericks. The Turks made an attempt to close with the Russians, but were repulsed; and this portion of the Turkish force was entirely put to the rout. The remains of the old Turkish yeomanry called the Delhi Horse (Mad Horse) and the Haïtai (Devil's Imps), were drawn up among the rocks, where the greater part of them perished. In the time of the splendour of the Turkish armies these troops enjoyed a great reputation, but they were now merely a fantastic and inferior kind of plundering band. The Russian Mahomedan regiments were particularly remarkable for their courage, as well as for their ferocity in putting

to death all those they could get at.* Reports now reached General Paskiewitch that the Seraskier had arrived or was expected that day at Zavinn. To ascertain this fact, General Mouravieff was sent forward with two regiments of Carabiniers, and the 1st Mussulman regiment of horse, who passed Tchatir Daug, and descended into the valley of the same name, without seeing any trace of an enemy: seven miles before reaching Kaïnly, however, some of the Turkish horse were perceived, and a party of Cossacks under Captain Iskritska reported numerous bodies of cavalry and many tents at Zavinn; while the spies also brought news of the arrival of the Seraskier with the main body of the army. In the meantime General Bourtsoff joined the camp with the whole convoy.

The reconnaissance of the previous day had ascertained the important fact of the presence of two large Turkish armies, the one under the Seraskier, amounting to 35,000 or 40,000 men, and the other under Haghi Pasha, at the intrenched camp at Mill Doose, of 25,000 men. Should these two armies succeed in meeting, the position of the Russians would

* This was occasioned by the Turks having cruelly put to death some Persian foragers.

be greatly compromised, as they would be exposed to be attacked by a superior army in front, occupying very strong ground, where it would be difficult to attack them; while in the rear they were threatened by another force, more numerous than their entire army. The distance between the two Turkish camps did not exceed forty miles. Great as was the danger, however, and certain as would have been his destruction with a more active enemy, General Paskiewitch determined to throw himself between the two armies, and if possible to draw the Seraskier into action; if he succeeded in defeating him, he would then cut off Haghi Pasha from Erzeroum. But in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to mislead Haghi Pasha, and gain a march on him, and the difficulty of the undertaking was greatly increased by the nature of the country, being a mass of mountains and deep ravines with marshy bottoms, through which it was hardly possible to pass.

On the morning of the 18th July, the army was formed into three bodies: there was an advanced guard consisting of two battalions of infantry, one of Pioneers, two regiments of Cossacks, two of Mussulmans, and 8 pieces of artillery, under General Mouravieff, who was to cross the Tchatir Baba, and occupy

the valley of Kaïnly. On the flank was another body, consisting of seven battalions of infantry, 24 pieces of artillery, and two regiments of Cossacks, under General Paskiewitch. The rear division had five battalions of infantry, two regiments of Cossacks, 16 light artillery guns, and 4 mounted howitzers, under General Penkratieff, who was placed on the hills in front of the camp of Mill Doose, a manœuvre which had the effect of inducing Haghi Pasha to remain inactive, and prevented his being aware of the general movement of the Russian force, especially as General Penkratieff rejoined the main body of the army in the night, leaving a small party to keep up fires during the darkness.

The advance of the troops had been very slow, and they had only accomplished six and a half miles when they were forced to halt in the bed of the Tchermuch and Khumkiar rivulets, over which it was necessary to throw five bridges in order to enable the convoy to pass: it consisted of 3000 carts, and was a great impediment to the progress of the Russians; but they were unable to leave any portion behind, not having sufficient troops to afford a detachment for its defence. On the 19th the army moved forward in the same order as before: Mouravieff with four battalions, a brigade of cavalry,

and 20 pieces of artillery; immediately behind him the convoy in eight lines, their right protected by the steep slope of the mountains, the left covered by two battalions of infantry and 4 pieces of artillery. The march was closed by a small detachment of infantry and the remainder of the cavalry. The army was within five versts of the Tchatir Mountain when it met with a serious and unexpected obstacle in a swamp formed by the springs at the head of the Khumkiar stream. Here it was again necessary that four bridges should be thrown, so that it was 10 o'clock in the morning when the advanced guard gained the summit of the Tchatir Baba pass. The infantry of Mouravieff and the Pioneers were left to repair the road.

The ravine of Kaïnly is about nine versts in length, gradually opening to a breadth of six versts at its mouth, and has two streams running through it, the Kaïnly Chie on the right and the Khani Chie on the left. The Turkish camp was now first visible: one party of the Seraskier's army, forming his advanced guard, was descried marching on the Erzeroum road, and another party, a detachment of Haghi Pasha's force, moving to join the Seraskier, in hopes of assisting in the defence of the defiles, little aware

they had already been passed by the Russians. General Paskiewitch reinforced his advance with three battalions and 10 pieces of artillery, making the remainder of the army halt and refresh themselves till the repairs of the road were completed.

General Penkratieff was left in charge of the convoy, which was parked; and some slight intrenchments were thrown up, to form either a reserve or a guard for the magazines and stores, which were threatened both by the armies of the Seraskier and of Haghi Pasha. General Bourtsoff occupied a position facing the road by which Haghi Pasha might advance. The first line consisted of three battalions of Chasseurs, one of Pioneers, and 8 pieces of light artillery; the second, of six squadrons of Dragoons, six ditto of Lancers, 8 pieces of Cossack artillery, two regiments of Mussulman cavalry, and one regiment of Cossacks. The Turks, with their usual want of union, had their advanced guard much in front of the main body, and at 12 o'clock they commenced an attack on the force of General Mouravieff, who was opposite their left. At the same time another party of infantry descended the mountains to attack General Bourtsoff's corps: he

formed all his infantry into a single line, but could with great difficulty resist the desperate assault of the masses which rushed against him, until the arrival of a brigade of cavalry despatched by General Penkratieff, who saw what was passing and lost no time in sending assistance. The Russian cavalry took the Turks in flank, defeated them, and put them to the rout; and at the same time General Osten Sacken succeeded with the regular cavalry in turning the flank of the Turks, threatening their communications with the camp of Mill Doose; they then fled into the woods, hotly pursued by the Cossacks and Mahomedan cavalry. The decisive success of the left wing of the Russian army enabled Prince Paskiewitch to direct General Penkratieff to descend from the mountain with the convoy and encamp at the mouth of the Kaïnly ravine.

During this time Count Simonitch continued his attack on the Turkish centre. On reaching the Kaïnly stream at 5 o'clock in the evening, he perceived a numerous body of Turks occupied in intrenching themselves on the opposite heights, and he lost no time in sending information to the commander-in-chief, who at the same time heard from

a prisoner * that these troops were a reinforcement of 8000 horse and 4000 infantry, under the orders of Saleh Pasha, the Seraskier, who had taken the Russian force merely for a reconnaissance, and had ordered them to be attacked by Haghi Pasha at the head of 10,000 men, whom he had supported by a portion of his own cavalry. On witnessing their defeat he had resolved on postponing the decisive battle which he contemplated until the following day, when he expected to be joined by the remainder of his troops, amounting to 20,000 men; in the meantime he was intrenching his position, which secured the communication with the camp of Mill Doose.

General Paskiewitch immediately formed the troops who were at hand into three columns, leaving General Bourtsoff to secure and cover the parks, and to occupy the route leading to the camp of Mill Doose.

The centre column under General Rievsky consisted of 18 pieces of artillery, two regiments of regular cavalry, three regiments of Cossacks, and three Mussulman regiments.

* Mamil Agha, formerly Chief of the Janissaries, and who had commanded the Erzeroum cavalry in the late action.

The right column, under General Mouravieff, had four battalions of Grenadiers and 8 light guns.

The left column, under General Penkratieff, had three battalions of Chasseurs and 8 light guns.

The Seraskier, deceived by the precautions taken by the Russians to secure the parks, was continuing his intrenchments, occasionally firing some shots out of distance, when the three Russian columns advanced simultaneously, and the Turks, discouraged by their defeat in the morning, began to fall into confusion, though they kept up a smart fire on the advancing column. Meanwhile the cavalry of the centre, under Prince Paskiewitch, had rapidly ascended the mountains, and established the artillery in a formidable position to sweep the only road by which the camp of Mill Doose could be gained; at the same time General Penkratieff with the infantry threatening to attack the camp, the Turks fled in every direction, and General Paskiewitch having established his infantry on the Isti Soo near the village of Karugan, followed the enemy with his cavalry, and entered with the fugitives into their camp at Zavinn, which was taken with all its artillery, magazines, and stores. The loss of the Russians in this action was trifling, but General Paskiewitch himself had a very narrow escape, the

enemy having fired a train leading to the magazine in Zavinn, which blew up a few minutes after he had quitted it. In the course of twenty-four hours the Russian army had marched twenty-eight miles, fought two battles, and entirely dispersed the army of the Seraskier.

The Turkish camp of Mill Doose was now assailable in the rear of the formidable intrenchments which had covered its front and the expected line of attack; and Haghi Pasha had hardly time to form his line to the rear and throw up some works on hills commanding the points on which he was now threatened by the Russians. The Russian camp on the Isti Soo was only ten miles from the Turkish position; General Bourtsoff remained to cover the park, and the rest of the troops began to move at daylight, the division of General Penkratieff leading the advance, followed by that of General Mouravieff, while the cavalry, both regular and irregular, brought up the rear. At 7 A. M. they had passed the last range of hills, and were within two miles of the Turkish position, the advanced pickets of which they drove in. The Turkish army was drawn up with its right on a deep ravine and its left on a thick wood. Three batteries, of 7, 3, and 2 guns, commanded the steep descent which the Russian army had to pass; and the Turks

appearing determined to hold their ground, General Paskiewitch sent orders for the heavy artillery to be brought forward from the park in the rear.

The whole strength of the Russian army amounted to 6743 infantry, 4471 cavalry, and 36 pieces of artillery, formed in two lines, with a reserve of 2000 men of the regiment of Georgia. The armies were separated by a narrow but deep valley, and General Paskiewitch patiently awaited the arrival of his heavy guns. It appeared the Turks were still ignorant of the defeat of the Seraskier, and, for the purpose of making them aware of it, a prisoner who had been taken towards the termination of the action was despatched into their camp. The effect produced by the intelligence he conveyed was immediately evident; and many of the divisions began to move in a tumultuous manner, disregarding the orders of their chiefs. Orders were immediately given to the Russian columns to advance, when Haghi Pasha sent an agent to propose a suspension of arms; but the sole answer he received was a summons to surrender at discretion.

The Russians now formed four columns: the centre was led by Prince Paskiewitch in person; General Penkratieff turned the right of the Turks by a flank movement; Generals Mouravieff and Osten

Sacken also advancing against the Turkish right, and cutting off their sole remaining line of retreat by Medginghert. All the attacks were successful; the guns were carried, and turned against the fugitives, who attempted to seek shelter in the forests, but were closely pursued, and Colonel Verzaline with the Cossacks overtook Haghi Pasha and made him prisoner. He was brought to Prince Paskiewitch and gave him up his sword, saying: "The fortune of war is uncertain; a few hours since I commanded an army of 20,000 men, and to my shame I am now your prisoner; I submit myself to your generosity." The address of the old Pasha, who in his adversity retained all his national dignity, strongly affected his conqueror, who assured him of kind treatment, and of the Emperor's indulgence. The Pasha replied he had determined to die at his post, but the turbulence and undisciplined conduct of his troops had compelled him to fly, adding, "The Seraskier deceived me by promising to join me two days sooner than he did, and this has occasioned our misfortune." *

* It is very difficult to persuade a Turk that one day more or less can make any difference in arrangements. The most trifling cause is sufficient to induce them to halt; and dearly they paid for their dilatory proceedings through the whole of this campaign.

There are few examples recorded of such rapid successes. In two days two armies had been dispersed, two intrenched camps stormed, and a Pasha of three tails taken, besides two others of inferior rank, 28 guns, 19 standards, and 3000 prisoners, with all the Turkish stores, provisions, and ammunition. The Russians stated their loss to be only 100 men; but this is quite incredible, and from what I heard in the camp at the time it must have amounted to at least five times that number; though even then their loss must be considered extremely small.

The dispersion of the only considerable Turkish force in Asia at once opened to General Paskiewitch every facility for marching against Erzeroum. Never perhaps was the Turkish power in such imminent danger; the old establishments of the Janissaries and militia, both horse and foot, to whom the Turks had hitherto and with success confided their defence, had been abolished; and the lands and revenues appropriated to the support of this national force had been confiscated, leaving the men, deprived of their usual means of subsistence, and reduced to distress and disaffection. On the other hand, the new, so called *regular*, force had only been partially collected, and was entirely disor-

ganised, being far more inclined to desert than to fight. The burgher garrisons of the towns could be but little depended upon; and the quantities of guns, stores, and provisions collected everywhere only facilitated the movements of the Russians, who always found sufficient provisions for the subsistence of their army. The Seraskier was among the first who reached Hussein Kulla, bringing the evidence of his defeat, though he strove to conceal its extent. Here by mere chance he found 10,000 men, who had been slowly advancing to join him, and had only reached so far from Erzeroum. Nearly one-third of the cavalry were assembled, composed of the old Turkish yeomanry who had volunteered; and orders were sent to his Kia, or second in command, who had retired to the borders of the Lazi after his defeat in his expedition against Akhiska, to raise as many of that people and of the Adschara as he could, and to join his commander near Erzeroum. The Kurdish Pasha of Moush received the same instructions; but, as before stated, he had entered into an engagement with the Russians to remain neuter. This deprived the Turks of a fine body of 12,000 cavalry; and in fact very few Kurds took any part in the war, except the corps of the Pasha of Van who made the unsuccessful attack on Bayazeed. Could

the Seraskier have relied upon what troops he still possessed besides the garrison and inhabitants of Erzeroum, formerly amounting to 30,000 men, he would have had still a sufficient force to have defied the utmost power Russia had hitherto been able to show on this side of the Caucasus; little dependence, however, was to be placed on any of his troops. The Russians followed the two great routes; General Bourtsoff took the one by Zavinn and Ardos with one battalion of Sappers, two battalions of Chasseurs, one regiment of Cossacks, and 12 pieces of artillery. Prince Bekowitch Tcherkaskoi* followed the route of Medginghert, and was to unite with General Bourtsoff at the village of Khorassan. Parties were despatched to scour the ravines and forests in which the Turks might have concealed themselves, and they made many prisoners, besides capturing a convoy of 800 sacks of wheat and 2000 loads with their cattle.

On the 21st Prince Paskiewitch followed the road opened by General Bourtsoff, and on the march reviewed the troops, whom he complimented on their success. He was everywhere received with loud acclamations, in which the Kurdish

* The Circassian.

Beys joined with all their hearts, saying: "Take Erzeroum, and you will be willingly joined by all our tribes." *

Hussein Agha of Erivan, whose daughter was married to the late Sirdar of Erivan, had with him 2000 men, who did excellent service. In all the wars against the Russians he had never joined his son-in-law with more than 300 men. Hussein Agha had been outlawed by the Sultan in consequence of his numerous raids into Turkey; I was intimately acquainted with him when stationed at Erivan, and found he entertained an equal detestation of the Persians and Turks. He subsequently proved an efficient ally of Russia against his own people; and it was principally owing to his power and influence that the Pasha of Moush had been induced to enter into a treaty of neutrality with the Russians, — a treaty he had strictly adhered to, though he did not allow his men to join those of Hussein Agha in their advance into Turkey. The Kurds collected great quantities of sheep, cattle, and other plunder, which materially assisted the army; and General Paskiewitch's skill in managing the different tribes of his complicated government

* There were many more Kurds with the Russian army than with the Turks.

was equal to his military talents. No preceding governor had ever derived so much assistance from the population, both Mahomedan and Christian; no force had been employed, and their exertions appear to have been perfectly spontaneous and voluntary.

On the 22nd all the flanking columns united at Ardos, where the army encamped; and here a Turkish courier was intercepted, carrying letters from Achmet Bey, the chief of Adschara, informing Haghi Pasha of his intention again to attack Akhiska. Haghi Pasha appears to have been of Adschar origin, and General Paskiewitch simply replied: "Your brave countryman is my prisoner; the Seraskier has fled, and I am following him to Erzeroum; think well if your intended attack on Akhiska is likely to turn to your advantage." On the 23rd the whole army moved on Choban Kurpi (the Shepherd's Bridge), a structure of unknown antiquity. They had here to cross the river, and found the climate very much hotter than it had hitherto been: it is singular that the troops should have suffered so much from the heat at this spot, as the height of the river is not less than 4500 feet above the level of the sea. The Arras is joined by the Hussein Soo a little higher up; and it

was at this place the Greeks under Xenophon supposed they had come to the banks of the Colchian Phasis, the streams being here called the Phasi Chie, from the name of the district.

Information was received here that the troops reassembled by the Seraskier were in a state of mutiny. General Paskiewitch therefore did not hesitate an instant, but made a forced march of twenty-eight miles at the head of a light detachment of irregular cavalry and 18 guns, with a battalion of the Erivan regiment, and arrived at Hussein Kulla about 8 P.M. The Turks abandoned this place, in which were found 29 pieces of artillery, large magazines of provisions, and a quantity of ammunition. This was a most important capture, as it opened the road to Erzeroum. The fort is situated on the junction of the roads to Bayazeed, Kars, and Akhiska; it is of great antiquity, and is mentioned in the retreat of the Ten Thousand. All the army assembled under its walls on the 24th; the castle was put in a state of defence, and made the great depôt for the provisions that had hitherto followed the army; the Beys and Aghas of the surrounding districts sent in their submission, and the people followed their usual occupations, as if no change had taken place.

A mound of stones which Xenophon mentions as having been thrown up by his men at the top of the pass from whence they first got a view of the Black Sea, is still visible at some distance from Hussein Kulla; at the same time it must be observed that all caravans or travellers following this route make a practice of adding a stone to the heap. The pass is, however, at present little frequented, owing to the predatory habits of the Lazi, though it was once the principal line of communication.

The army now prepared to advance on Erzeroum, which, had it been defended as it might have been, was capable of putting a stop to the further progress of the Russian army, or might even have destroyed it altogether.

The city of Erzeroum and the surrounding districts, were formerly able to furnish 30,000 men; and the Pashalik, which ranked next to Egypt in importance, could muster nearly 200,000. But as before observed, the old militia and yeomanry had been dispersed, and their place not supplied by any other army. The people were also greatly dissatisfied with the recent changes, and artisans and townsmen can rarely be relied upon to resist the attack of regular troops.

In nothing had the talents of General Paskiewitch been so remarkable as in the skill with which he had conducted his negotiations and the manner in which he had conciliated the people, not only in the Russian provinces, but even in Persia and Turkey. He induced large bodies both of Turks * and Persians, to join his army and march against their own countrymen; nor had he ever reason to regret the confidence he had placed in them, though but a few months before they had been his deadly enemies and arrayed in opposition against him. On the present occasion he was equally successful; the Seraskier and the remains of his army had scarcely reached Erzeroum, when a tumultuous assembly of the inhabitants took place: the fanatics and men of the old system proposed resisting to the last, whilst the others were equally vehement for a surrender; and their proposal was supported by the appearance of two weak regiments of Cossacks, who succeeded in keeping up the ferment by a series of false alarms, though they carefully avoided all collision with the Turkish troops.

Two Turkish prisoners, Mamisch Agha and Bekir Agha, both natives of Erzeroum, undertook to carry the Russian proclamation to the inhabitants of their

* Turkish subjects, Kurds, &c.

native city. They were accordingly set at liberty by the Russians, and arrived at Erzeroum in the evening; but finding the lower classes had been induced by the Seraskier to insist on the city being defended, they proceeded to the residence of the Aghan Agha, or civil governor of the town, who called a meeting of the chief people and those who were in favour of a capitulation. The proclamation of Prince Paskiewitch was then read to them, in which he exhorted the people to put no faith in the promises of the Seraskier, who, he asserted, was on the point of abandoning the city and leaving the inhabitants to suffer like those of Kars and Akhiska; he also added that the Seraskier, by his delays and bad management, had already caused the loss of two armies and the abandonment of the strong pass of Soganlook. As usual in such cases, the rabble were of the same opinion as the last speaker, and the empty tents of the troops who had returned to their homes were struck. The Seraskier now appeared really inclined to abandon the town, but was prevented from so doing by the mob, who vehemently reproached him with having destroyed his army, and then wishing to abandon the city. General Paskiewitch was kept informed of all that

passed by the Aghas he had liberated and despatched there, and they urged an immediate advance on Erzeroum; though at the same time Mamisch Agha, with a deputation from the Seraskier and the city, waited on the Russian General, with the object of preventing the Russians from advancing upon the town,— the Seraskier being in hopes the lower orders might still be induced to resist, or at any rate to secure his being allowed to depart to some other part of his Pashalik.

General Paskiewitch lost not a moment; he passed the defile of Napi Chie without resistance, and encamped at a distance of four versts from the city, with Tose Dauh (Cannon Hill) immediately in front — a position which commands both the town and citadel. From the former it is only distant 600 yards, from the latter about 1600. Here the Turks had commenced a line of intrenchments, armed with a numerous artillery; and part of the infantry of the town, with a small body of cavalry, came out to skirmish with the Russian advanced guard, who had received orders to avoid any hostile demonstrations. Prince Bekowitch, with a small escort and five Usdens or Circassian chiefs, who accompanied the army, was then sent

with the Seraskier's officers to treat for the surrender of the place, where the confusion had now reached such a pitch that the Russian mission was repeatedly fired upon by the war party occupying the exterior defences. Before communicating with the Seraskier, Prince Bekowitch paid a visit to one of his friends, named Samed Agha, with the hope of ascertaining what were really the sentiments of the government and people. He was immediately surrounded by the principal inhabitants and authorities of the town, who anxiously inquired what were the intentions of Prince Paskiewitch. Bekowitch replied, they were very favourable to the people, and were expressed in a letter to the Seraskier, of which he was the bearer, and who would inform them of its contents.

On the following day (the 27th), the Russian party proceeded to the Seraskier, who received them at the head of his principal officers, but immediately retired with Prince Bekowitch to read the letter of the commander-in-chief, a letter which was far from favourable to him, whatever it might be to the town, for, to his great alarm, he found he and the whole of his troops were required to surrender prisoners of war. He made a fruitless attempt to get this article altered; after which he

pretended to submit, hoping, however, that a general revolt of the lower orders might take place, and enable him to make good his defence.

The Russian envoy now made the people acquainted with the terms offered to them. Nothing could be more favourable. They were promised the maintenance of their religion, laws, and internal government,—private property was to be fully respected, but the citadel, arsenal, and artillery to be given up immediately, and such troops as were not inhabitants of Erzeroum to be considered prisoners of war. At the earnest entreaty of the Seraskier, the Russian envoy forwarded a request that the citadel, arsenal, and troops should not be surrendered till 4 P.M.; and in the meantime the partisans of the Seraskier had sufficient influence to occasion a general insurrection in the town. The people flew to arms, demanding the head of the Russian envoy, while Samed Agha, the friend, and I believe the countryman, of the envoy, assembled all the people he could, and made known his intention of defending his guest to the last.

The Turkish post at Tope Daug still continuing to fire on the Russian camp, General Paskiewitch ordered the troops to advance, and the position of Tope Daug was occupied without loss by General

Penkratieff, who turned the guns on the town. A few people still manned the ramparts, but in general the inhabitants surrendered their arms and accepted the terms offered. The Arnaout garrison in the citadel refused to surrender without receiving their arrears of pay; their demand was complied with at the representation of the Russian envoy; they still, however, showed an inclination to defend the citadel, but surrendered upon the Russian artillery being turned upon them. By 6 P.M. the town was entirely occupied by the Russians; and General Penkratieff, marching to the palace, made the Seraskier and his principal officers prisoners. One hundred and fifty guns were taken, and a well-furnished arsenal, besides large magazines of provisions sufficient for the wants of the army. This event happened on the anniversary of the battle of Pultowa.

Whilst General Paskiewitch was proceeding on his triumphant march to Erzeroum, the Pasha of Van had assembled all the men he could induce to follow his standard, and had made a vigorous attempt to drive the Russian garrison out of the Pashalik of Bayazeed. This garrison consisted of about 2000 Russians and 1000 Armenian militia. The town is one of the most ancient in the world, and

situated near the western face of Mount Ararat: before the occupation of the Russians it might have contained a mixed population of 8000 or 10,000 inhabitants, the greater part of whom were Armenians. The houses are built on very broken ground, the different quarters being separated by ravines, and, where most accessible, defended by some trifling intrenchments; but the place has always fallen after a slight resistance,—even the citadel, which is built upon a rock and contains the palace of the Pasha, being incapable of resisting artillery.

The Pasha of Van succeeded in bringing about 10,000 men and 7 guns to the attack, and, after a hard contest, he drove the Russians from all their outworks into the old and new castles. The Turks then made four determined attacks on the Russian posts, now much reduced by a loss of 400 men and 4 guns; they were, however, repulsed, after having lost in the actions between the 6th and 29th of June nearly 2000 men. The Pasha of Van, retired to his government with the remnants of his forces, but continued to harass and molest the Russian position as far as Erzeroum.

CHAP. IX.

POSITION OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH. — NO ARMY OF RESERVE. — ORGANISATION. — ERZEROUM. — JUDICIOUS ARRANGEMENTS. — ACHMET BEY. — PRINCE PASKIEWITCH ADVANCES AGAINST BAIBURT. — KHORT. — RUSSIANS REPULSED. — KHORT AGAIN ATTACKED, TURKS DEFEATED. — SUICIDE OF THE LAZI. — GENERAL RIEVSKY. — OSMAN PASHA — APPARENTLY SKILFUL MANŒUVRE — HIS SURPRISE AT ITS BEING CONSIDERED SO. — INSUFFICIENCY OF GENERAL PASKIEWITCH'S ARMY. — GAMISCH KHANA SURRENDERS. — THE FORTIFICATIONS OF BAIBURT DESTROYED. — SUBMISSION OF KURDISH TRIBES. — SURRENDER OF KHULI. — ILL SUCCESS OF GENERAL OSTEN SACKEN. — CLIMATE OF ERZEROUM. — GENERAL PASKIEWITCH DESIROUS OF SENDING SOME OF HIS TROOPS BACK TO GEORGIA. — THE TURKS IMAGINE THEY ARE RETREATING — AND RESOLVE ON ATTACKING THEM. — THEY ARE REPULSED NEAR AK KULLA. — THE RUSSIANS ATTACK BAIBURT. — IT IS TAKEN. — ARRIVAL OF THE SERASKIER IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS. — PEACE CONCLUDED. — INTELLIGENCE OF IT CONCEALED BY THE PASHA OF TREBIZOND. — ARRIVAL OF THE OFFICIAL NOTIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF ADRIANOPLE. — GENERAL PASKIEWITCH RETURNS TO ERZEROUM. — RUIN BROUGHT ON THE INHABITANTS BY THE WAR. — ASSISTANCE GIVEN THEM BY THE RUSSIAN GENERAL. — EMIGRATION TO RUSSIA OF NINETY THOUSAND SOULS FROM THE TURKISH TERRITORY. — CHARACTER OF PRINCE PASKIEWITCH. — CONCLUSION.

PRINCE PASKIEWITCH was now in possession of the stronghold of the Turkish power in Asia; the Ottoman forces were defeated and dispersed, and

their commanders taken prisoners; the Russian communications were free, and a sufficient quantity of provisions had been captured to supply the wants of the army. Nothing apparently could arrest their advance; but they had no army of reserve in Georgia, and the promised body of recruits, amounting to 20,000 men, had not yet crossed the Caucasus; so that not only was their further progress prevented by the very extent of their conquest, but a less able and enterprising chief than the one at the head of the Russian army might well have felt some doubts of being able to maintain even his actual position with a force of hardly 15,000 men. We may here observe, that the smallness of the force the Russians have ever been able to bring into the field, either in Europe or Asia, is really surprising. The army of the Caucasus at the time we are speaking of amounted to 80,000 men, yet more than 25,000 were never assembled for offensive operations, either against Persia or Turkey. The Russian army was said to have amounted to 150,000 men before crossing the Danube, yet when peace was signed at Adrianople there were not more than 25,000 or 30,000 of all arms. Both armies were unequal to the object contemplated, and must

have failed in the conquest of Constantinople, if one particle of its ancient courage and energy remained to the Turkish people.

Undeterred by the difficulties he had to contend with, General Paskiewitch now commenced the organisation of Erzeroum and such of the neighbouring districts as had voluntarily submitted to the Russian government. His arrangements were simple, well conceived, and just, contrasting strongly with the acts of his predecessors in Georgia; and the success they met with was complete. They differed but little from those he had made at Kars. All the local and district authorities were either continued in their offices, or replaced by others chosen by the people, the choice never *appearing* to be influenced by the Russians, and indeed it very rarely happened that they in any way interfered. Prince Bekowitch, a Circassian, and who had acted in a similar capacity at Kars, was with the Mollah Bashi placed at the head of the regency, aided by a council of the principal people. The usual courts of Turkish law were to perform their duties in the accustomed manner, and on any very particular occasion their decisions were to be referred to the council. General Penkratieff was appointed military governor, but he had no

control over the civil government. Many of the most oppressive taxes were abolished, and the equality was established between the Mahomedan and Christian population; the regular revenue was also more easily and regularly collected than it had been under the rule of the Seraskier. Confidence was thus immediately and completely restored; the usual caravans frequented the bazaars, as if no change had taken place; and the population in general, but especially the Kurds and the Christians, would have been perfectly content to remain under the Russian government.

The Seraskier and Osman Pasha, Abischa Abdulla and Achmet Abdulla, who had surrendered as prisoners of war, had entertained the extraordinary idea that they would be continued in the government of Erzeroum, and, forgetting the position in which they stood, demanded to be sent to Constantinople. This was of course refused; and shortly afterwards, on their being detected in a secret correspondence with the Turkish government and an attempt to excite revolt, they were sent to Tiflis. No effort was made, either at Erzeroum or on the road, to set them at liberty, although they travelled under a very slight escort. Achmet, Bey of Adschara, and the Kia or Lieutenant of the Seraskier,

who had been detached with 8000 or 10,000 men, for the purpose of endeavouring, with the assistance of the Lazi and Adschara, to make a diversion on the side of Akhiska, but who had been forced to retire into the Lazi country and the districts near Trebizond, made proposals for a treaty with Russia, and gave up all communication with the Türks.

The people of Baiburt had requested that a force might be sent to drive way the Kia, who with his troops was laying the surrounding country under contribution; but this further extension of operations had not entered into Prince Paskiewitch's plans, especially as Baiburt is eighty-two miles from Erzeroum, and about half-way to Trebizond. A new Seraskier had been appointed, who had urged the Kia to use his utmost endeavours to induce the Lazi to join him, while he declared that he would himself bring all the troops from Diarbekir, Trebizond, and the districts still unoccupied by the Russians. At this juncture, however, there arrived the first detachments of the long expected reinforcements from Georgia; and General Paskiewitch determined to send a force to occupy Baiburt and prevent the assembling of troops in that direction, especially as it was likewise the frontier of the Lazi districts of Ispera and Off.

General Bourtsoff was despatched with two battalions of infantry, 100 Cossacks, the 2nd regiment of Mussulman horse, and 6 pieces of artillery. About 5000 Turks abandoned the place on the appearance of the Russian troops; a small body who attempted to resist at Miss Khana (the Copper Mines) were dispersed, and a government similar to that of Erzeroum was established.

General Bourtsoff then determined to proceed to the districts of Ispera and Off, inhabited by the more civilised portion of the Lazi tribes; and their people engaged, if the Kia were driven off, to take up arms themselves in defence of their harvests, and resist all future entry of the Turks into their country.

The Kia, with the principal part of the Lazi, occupied the village of Khort; and as they were daily increasing in numbers, General Bourtsoff determined to leave a garrison in Baiburt, and to disperse this formidable body. He formed the small remainder of his force into two columns, and placed two companies, with 4 pieces of artillery, under the command of Major Sass, while he himself took three companies of infantry, 4 guns, 50 Cossacks, and a regiment of Mahomedan cavalry; both columns were to advance and attack simultaneously. On the morning of the 19th Major Sass

and his party were delayed by the difficulty of the road, and General Bourtsoff alone reached Khort at the time appointed; but he instantly assaulted the village, and the boldness of the measure appeared for a time warranted by the success he obtained: the Lazi were driven from the burying ground, and fled into the village or small town, closely pursued by the Russians; but the Turks soon contriving to engage the small detachment in narrow lanes and barricaded houses, the Russians were repulsed, and with difficulty reached a height on the road by which they expected the other detachment to pass. At about noon Major Sass arrived, and was immediately ordered by the general to turn the village by the left, while he himself led an attack in the same direction as before. The enemy were defeated and driven on the principal column, and the victory appeared secure, when General Bourtsoff was shot dead with a pistol, while attempting to seize a standard-bearer; the second in command, Count Lilienfield, immediately ordered a retreat, and gained Baiburt without further molestation, but with a loss of 300 men and 18 officers, besides the brave and able General Bourtsoff, one of the best officers in the army.

The news of this disaster spread with great

rapidity, even as far as Van, and occasioned some hostile movements against Bayazeed, whose garrison was much diminished by the plague; and two battalions and two companies had to be sent to reinforce it. Having thus secured the left flank of the army, General Paskiewitch left a strong garrison in Erzeroum, and directed General Potemkin, who had lately arrived, to march on Baiburt with the divisions of Mouravieff and Rievsky, following also immediately himself. He reached Baiburt on the 25th, and on the same day the army advanced ten versts (six miles) to ascertain the position of the enemy, who were found to occupy the villages of Balakhoor, Ostek, Karsy, Nir, Ak Kelisea, Khort, Zurgrood and Khontsur Soo, forming a semicircle of about sixteen miles round Baiburt. The Turks were commanded by Osman Shater Oglan Pasha, who had commanded at Anapa, when it was taken by Prince Menschikoff in 1828. The enemy had strongly intrenched Khort, which was near the centre of their position; and this was the point General Paskiewitch decided on attacking, not only as being the most decisive, but also for the purpose of avenging the death of General Bourtsoff on the very spot where he had been killed.

On the 27th the general left the baggage under the guard of two companies at Khinsaverek, and formed the army into three lines.

The first line consisted of one regiment of infantry, three companies of Sappers, and 12 pieces of artillery;

The second line of one regiment of infantry;

The third line of the regular cavalry. As the reserve, were eight companies of infantry and 6 guns.

Since the enemy during the night had received a reinforcement of 5000 men, and the Lazi were rapidly moving to reinforce Khort, General Paskiewitch determined to march round that post so as to intercept the men advancing to its assistance; and Osman Pasha, becoming aware of the fault he had committed in separating his forces, now made an attempt to concentrate them, but found the Russian troops interposed between his right and left flank, and covering the roads to Khort. Scarcely had 8 position guns opened upon Khort, when a large body of Lazi commenced a fire on the Russian line; but they were charged with the bayonet, driven from their ground, and pursued as far as the hills by the Mahomedan cavalry, supported by the Dragoons. The other party, who had formed an abbatis on the other

flank and rear of the Russians, were surrounded, and though cut off by the cavalry, they still refused to surrender; they were all slain or died by their own hands.* About 9 o'clock Osman Pasha endeavoured to force a passage into Khort with 5000 men, but was repulsed and obliged to retreat; at the same time a sally was attempted by the garrison, who broke through the Mahomedan regiment guarding this point. General Paskiewitch now ordered the town to be attacked, and after a brave but ineffectual defence, in which the greater part of the garrison perished, it was carried at the point of the sword. General Rievsky then followed rapidly on the heels of Osman Pasha, and overtook him at his projected camp of Balakhoor, which was carried, and two pieces of artillery taken, with the remainder of the stores and baggage. Osman Pasha had succeeded in bringing into the field 12,000 men, half of whom were Lazi; but after his defeat, the Beys of Ispera and Off immediately tendered their submission, and requested to be confirmed in their governments by Russia.

The broken and dispirited troops of Osman

* Suicide is extremely rare among Mahomedans, but the Lazi resorted to it on this occasion.

Pasha now fell back on the pass of Suffian Derra. The advanced guard was posted at the village of Chep Khana, three leagues and a half on the north side of the Vaugh Mountains; and the communication with Trebizond was thus kept open, while the route to the Kara Hissar was covered. This, which was supposed to be an able movement on the part of the Pasha, turned out, however, to have been purely accidental; so that, when he was afterwards complimented upon his skill, he looked with vague astonishment, quite unconscious of having had any reason for his movement. The Russians now menaced Tchefflick and gained possession of the road leading from Kara Hissar to Sevas, driving the Turks before them, until they took post at Khana Kaleh. The whole Russian force was then concentrated at Balakoor, and Osman Pasha marched to Tchefflick, whither he was followed on the 6th by the Russians. The Turks fell back on the river Tchelo Soo, and united with a corps of 4000 Delhi horse and 5000 infantry under Gogi Pasha, son of the Pasha of Trebizond; but they abandoned their position on the approach of the Russians, who pursued them ineffectually for a distance of thirty versts, on the road to Kara Hissar, as far as Islam Tarsum, where the Turks dispersed, and fled to-

wards Sevas. General Rievsky turned towards Gamisch Khana, and at Iska routed a body of 500 horse, who retired to the mountains.

It now rested with General Paskiewitch to attempt to force his way to Trebizond, and communicate with the Russian fleet, and then, by marching along the shores of the Black Sea, to unite with the force under General Hesse, who was acting against the Lazi in the neighbourhood of Batoum. In this manner he would have occupied the whole of the shores of the Black Sea from the Rion to Trebizond; or he might have moved on Sevas, to intercept the communication of Constantinople with Diarbekir and the eastern provinces of the empire; but advantageous as either project would have been; General Paskiewitch felt that the forces under his command were unequal to the execution of the plan, and also to guarding the country he had already acquired. Although the Lazi might be incapable of resisting an attack in the field, there was no doubt they would retire to their rocks and forests, and reassemble to harass the flanks and rear of the invading army. The Russians were not in a condition to maintain a long line of communication, and it was not probable that any considerable reinforcements could be

spared from the army in European Turkey, even if a communication were opened with the fleet. For the purpose nevertheless of ascertaining the practicability of advancing on Trebizond, should circumstances render it advisable hereafter, the main body of the army took the road by Temlin, and a detachment under Count Simonitch proceeded by Gamisch Khana (the Silver Mines), the depôts remaining on the Chun Soo. On the 14th Gamisch Khana was occupied without resistance; the Turks fled, and the Greeks, of whom the miners' guards are principally composed, moved in procession, headed by their priests, to meet the Russians. The road to this place lies over the Giaour Daug*, and is quite impracticable for artillery; even the cavalry did not pass without great difficulty, and were repeatedly obliged to dismount, and the light guns had to be taken off their carriages and carried by the soldiers. The route by Temlin was found to be nearly as difficult, and it would have required the labour of 3000 men for at least a month to have improved the roads sufficiently to allow of the passage of artillery and baggage. The number of troops available for an advance on Trebizond, after

* Infidel Mountains.

leaving even a very inadequate number to secure the conquests already made, would hardly have exceeded 5000 men, and in addition to these obstacles the absence of the Russian army had enabled the distant pashaliks to assemble their troops and threaten the Russian posts, while a conspiracy was discovered at Erzeroum showing the danger there would be in withdrawing the troops, so that General Paskiewitch judged it best to concentrate his troops in that neighbourhood and await either the arrival of more troops or some change in the state of affairs.

On the 24th the different detachments assembled at Baiburt, the fortifications of which were destroyed, and on the 28th the army reoccupied their former stations about Erzeroum.

Whilst the army was thus taking up its old quarters, a detachment from the garrison of Erzeroum marched to Khuli, and evacuated the post of Khinis *, dispersing some bodies of Kurds who were surprised by Col. Serghéieff's Cossacks at the foot of the mountains of Kechmire, and defeated with great loss. The two principal Kurdish tribes

* This post was on the summit of the Doman Daug, and was so isolated it was difficult either to provision or relieve it.

of Puchkanli and Tcharikhli, with the Bey of Terdjan, sent in their submission, and furnished a supply of forage and provisions; but operations were still continued against the Lazi in the neighbourhood of Batoum. The district of Kouboulletti appeared inclined to submit, but was prevented from doing so by the arrival of an expedition under Kapidgi Pasha and Tuschi Oglou, who took up positions near Fort St. Nicholas, and on the Ostocha Mur stream. General Hesse advanced against the latter camp, which was taken with considerable loss to the Turks; and the other camp was also attacked by the force left to watch it, and dispersed, with the loss of all the cannon, ammunition, and stores. At the same time General Osten Sacken, who commanded at Akhiska, undertook an expedition against the Bey of Adschara, who had allowed his people to continue their irruptions on the Russian territory at the same time that he made great professions of a wish for peace; and with the view of at once putting a stop to these proceedings, General Osten Sacken wrote to General Hesse to advance simultaneously with him from Guriel. On the 17th and 18th of August General Osten Sacken penetrated into the country of the Adschara, with four battalions of infantry, one regiment of Cossacks, some

native militia, and 4 guns. The village of Khuli, the general rendezvous of the Adschara chiefs, surrendered at once, and the wife of Achmet Bey delivered up the keys at the moment she took flight; her husband retired into the inaccessible fastnesses of the mountains, where he set the Russians at defiance. General Osten Sacken, finding the pass by which he had advanced occupied, and the provisions of his troops being exhausted, determined to force his way across the mountains into Guriel; but though he succeeded in the attempt, it was attended with a loss of 7 officers and 142 men. He was here also doomed to disappointment, for he soon found he must not hope for either provisions or assistance from General Hesse, and he therefore regained Akhiska on the 28th by a circuitous route. Many of the tribes which were before inclined to surrender to the Russians now withdrew their submission, and the remains of the Turkish force which had been defeated by General Hesse having been largely reinforced by the men under the command of the Bey of Adschara's son, occupied the Fort of Tsikhedjiri. This post was of great importance, being near Bâtoum, and also the point of communication between the Adschara and Lazi, besides giving possession of the district of Kouboulletti,

where the reinforcements arriving for Batoum by sea were disembarked. On the 15th of September General Hesse advanced with 2400 infantry, 100 Cossacks, and 7 guns, together with 3000 of the inhabitants of Guriel. The artillery was placed in battery during the night of the 16th, but sufficient time was not allowed to make a breach in the redoubt: the assault took place, the Russians were repulsed, and a sally ensued, compelling them to retire to Kantriche, having sustained a loss altogether of 660 men.

The tribes of Adschara and Lazi had signally defeated all the attempts made by the Russians to penetrate into their country, either on the side of Akhiska or by the shores of the Black Sea, but they had invariably suffered defeat whenever they attempted any enterprise beyond their own boundaries. The Russians received great assistance from the people of Guriel, who willingly came forward to retaliate the great loss and misery the Lazi and the men of Adschara had occasioned to their country, and notwithstanding the ill success of their late attempts, the right wing of the Russians was soon fully capable of resisting any attempt that might be made on Georgia or Akhiska.

Tranquillity now appeared to be firmly re-esta-

blished; and, as the cold season had commenced with heavy rain and snow, rendering any further advance impossible, General Paskiewitch was desirous of sending back to Georgia as many troops as could be spared, as well as the Georgian and Mahomedan militia, who generally expect to return to their homes in the winter.

So perfect was the apparent submission of the country that the heavy guns, position artillery, and engineer parks set out under a guard of two companies of infantry, which were thought sufficient for their defence, being followed at some distance by the 2nd and 4th Mussulman regiments, and a party of Sappers under Prince Argatinski Dolgoroucki, who had orders to take the route of Mariman and Olti, and disperse some bands of Lazi, and the remains of the Turkish Delhis, who were making incursions in this direction, commanded by Hussein Bey and Hussein Osman Agha. After passing the Tano Daug, they fell in with Osman Agha near the village of Mariman, and defeated him, capturing 78 horses and 2000 sheep; and they then returned on Olti, which they took by assault, and made the garrison prisoners.

The news of the retrograde movement thus taken by the Russians was not long in spreading

through the country; and the newly appointed Seraskier soon contrived to excite the Mahomedan population to revolt, as well as again to call out his countrymen the Lazi under Osman Pasha. They joined in great numbers; and in a few days there were 10,000 men assembled at Baiburt, which is considered the capital of the Lazi. All the disaffected persons, as well as those really actuated by a feeling of patriotism, flocked to his standard; and to these were added 6000 men, the remains of the Turkish force, composed of Arnaouts and European Turks assembled at Tchefflick, another corps at Gamisch Khana, and a third under the Pasha of Van, who, assembling all the garrisons of his fortresses, succeeded in collecting 5000 men in the district of Terdjan near Pun. A Russian detachment was attacked between Pekeridje and Ak Kulla by the men of Van, but was relieved by General Mouravieff from Ak Kulla. This circumstance proves how dangerous it is for an invading army to show the slightest symptoms of inclination to retreat. The object of General Paskiewitch had been simply to send back the establishments which required refitting and such corps as stood most in need of recruits or equipments; yet this step proved sufficient to set the country

in a blaze. The order for the return of the troops was countermanded, notwithstanding the difficulty of feeding and providing for them, especially for the cavalry, during the long and severe winter of Erzeroum *; and active measures were taken to attack the Seraskier, and again disperse his countrymen the Lazi. It was also determined again to occupy Baiburt, as the centre of the Turkish forces and the capital of Lazistan, from whence were drawn the only efficient troops of the Seraskier: that point secured, the Russians could easily turn on either flank of the Turks and destroy them.

The army was divided into two columns: the first, under General Potemkin, consisted of four battalions of infantry, one regiment of Lancers, two regiments of Cossacks, part of the 3rd Mussulman regiment, and 6 pieces of artillery; the second was composed of three half battalions of infantry,

* The plain and city of Erzeroum are nearly the highest inhabited spot in the world. Erzeroum is about 8000 feet above the level of the sea, and the winter lasts eight months, during which time the sheep and cattle are kept in stables half buried in the ground. The fuel is almost entirely of dried cowdung: for none but people in good circumstances can afford the use of wood or charcoal, which is brought from some distance, and cut on the south face of the mountains looking to the Black Sea. Hay is very abundant in the summer, but snow often falls before the harvest is got in.

Pioneers, one regiment of Dragoons and a body Haïtai horse from Akhiska, lately in the Turkish service, with 24 pieces of artillery.

The two columns left Erzeroum by different routes and united at Miss Khana* on the 26th. All the workmen and inhabitants had fled; so no information could be obtained of the enemy or their force, of which the number reported varied from 5000 to 15,000 men. The route from Miss Khana to Baiburt follows the bed of the Tchorakh valley as far as Matchur, from whence one road continues through a narrow defile along the valley and the other proceeds to Baiburt over a range of hills commanding the town. A party of Russians gained possession of the point where the roads separate, and a demonstration was made on the side of the valley; while during the night the principal part of the army advanced, and encamped near the village of Ghiaz, where the road to Baiburt turns off to Aruja, by which route the General had resolved to attack Baiburt, and so prevent the Seraskier from throwing himself into that important post, with a body of 6000 men from Gamisch Khana. This would leave the Lazi

Copper Mines.

no means of retreat except by difficult mountain paths to Ispera and the interior of Lazistan.

The extreme difficulty of the road forced the columns to lengthen so much, however, that the advance was at Aruja, three versts from Baiburt, when the rear had hardly quitted the camp. Orders were sent to the advanced guard to halt until the remainder of the troops came up; but this was impossible, for the Turkish cavalry had sallied forth on the Russians, whom it became necessary immediately to support with fresh troops, and the action soon became general. The Russians drove the Turks into the place, and gained possession of the heights which command it; and though the enemy made an attempt to recover the lost ground, it was without success; and they were driven across a deep ravine, which separates the town from the heights where the Russians were posted. The defences in front of the Russian position consisted of a double intrenchment and two redoubts.

The troops who had been driven back being now reinforced by 2000 horse and 4000 Lazi infantry, took up a position within 1000 yards of the Russians; but General Paskiewitch perceiving that the defence of the intrenchments had been greatly weakened by detaching this considerable body of troops,

was in hopes of being able to drive them back and enter the town together with the fugitives. General Mouravieff led the attack, supported by Prince Galitzin; while General Serghéieff, with three regiments of Cossacks and the 1st Mussulman regiment, cut off their retreat by the roads of Balakhoor, Tribez, and Khort. The attacks were successful. The Turks abandoned their intrenchments, and ran in every direction: the Lazi fled to the hills, but having only one passage over the Tchorakh, it became choked up, when they were charged by the Uhlans, and suffered severely. They attempted to make a stand at the village of Deduzar, which is surrounded by high rocks, but they were charged with the bayonet and destroyed, though resisting bravely to the last. The Turks who had taken the same line of country were surrounded, but obstinately refused to surrender; they resisted four attacks, and then, having lost half their men, about 1200 were made prisoners. The Russians lost 3 officers killed, 7 wounded, and 100 men.

The Seraskier arrived in sight of Baiburt only in time to witness the defeat of his army and the destruction of the town, which had been set on fire during the action. This battle—the

last of the war—was the more to be regretted because peace was already concluded, and of this the Pasha of Trebizond was perfectly aware. The vessel bearing the Russian messenger came in sight of Trebizond on the 22nd and 23rd, but was fired upon by order of the Pasha; and when the Russian courier at last gained the shore, he was treated with the greatest insolence by the Governor, who asked contemptuously "Who is Paskiewitch, whom you are seeking? He is no longer in Turkey, and I have the head of his successor in my possession." The courier, however, who was Magatchi, Aide-de-camp to General Diebitch, insisted on being conducted to head-quarters, and refused to give up his papers. The outrageous conduct of the Pasha had been induced by the confident expectation that the Russians would be defeated at Baiburt, and his terror was great when he heard of the rout of the Lazi and the capture of the city. At last Captain Duhamel, who had made the land journey, reached Trebizond, accompanied by an English intrepreter. The messengers of the Seraskier too reached Baiburt on the 28th of September, announcing the conclusion of peace and demanding the cessation of hostilities, but General Paskiewitch affected not to

believe the news, and declared his intention of marching forward until he met his courier. On the following day the Russian Dragoman went to the camp of the Seraskier; in the meantime the Russians marched to Urusche, twenty-five versts beyond Baiburt, when the Dragoman and Courier came into camp, and a salute of 101 guns announced the conclusion of peace.

Prince Paskiewitch then commenced his retrograde march to Erzeroum, passing by Baiburt, whose inhabitants had been ruined by the war. The Russian general gave them all the assistance in his power, and distributed among them the provisions which had been collected for the use of his army, besides leaving with them a considerable sum of money. The fortification of Erzeroum was suspended, and an order was issued that hostilities should cease along the whole extent of the frontier.

The 20th division was left to occupy Erzeroum, Kars, and Bayazeed, until the articles of the Treaty of Adrianople should have been fulfilled, and the remainder of the troops commenced their return to Georgia. An honourable tribute was paid to the Russian commander-in-chief by a deputation from the inhabitants of the country, who waited upon him to express their gratitude for the justice and

kindness they had experienced under his authority. Four thousand Christian families, to whom a grant of 40,000*l.* was made, were permitted to accompany the army, and 10,000 other families followed the same course, making an emigration of 90,000 souls who fled from the tyranny of their Mahomedan masters.

On the ground where Prince Paskiewitch had defeated the Seraskier near the pass of the Soganlook, he received a courier from the Emperor, bringing him the Field Marshal's baton.

This was one of the most fortunate and glorious campaigns in the whole of the Russian annals. It had only lasted four months; and though the distance marched over did not exceed 350 miles, it was through one of the strongest countries in the world, defended by an army of at least 80,000 men, with 200 pieces of cannon, who had had at least a year to prepare their defence. The Russian army never mustered more than 25,000 men of all arms, and seldom had more than 12,000 in action. Their losses amounted altogether to 4000 men,—a small number considering that the plague had twice broken out. Thanks to the excellent arrangements that had been made, the army was well supplied with provisions, and the strength of the troops had never been overtasked by unnecessary haste, even

when circumstances appeared to call for it. Arrangements having been once completed, no subsequent delays ever took place; nor did the troops suffer by those irregular exertions which often ruin an army and tend to retard rather than expedite its movements. The numerical strength of the army employed in the conquest of Erzeroum was not half what the service required; yet through the genius of Prince Paskiewitch it was brought to a glorious termination. One Seraskier and three Pashas were taken prisoners; and though little care was taken to secure prisoners of a lower rank, about 5000 remained in the hands of the Russians: double that number must have been slain; and four fortresses, till then considered impregnable, were captured. The Georgian militia had done good service, and above all the four Mussulman regiments from the provinces of Kara Baug, Sheki, Shirwan, Bortschaloo, and the Cossack tribes of Georgia; and a body of Circassians also appeared in the Russian ranks, all these being people who a few months before had been in revolt and the bitter enemies Russia, but who had been gained over by the just, kind, and liberal conduct of the Russian commander. General Paskiewitch fortunately possessed an instinctive knowledge of character, and he completely

trusted those whom he employed. In his attention to the civil administration, he was indefatigable, and he put a stop to the abuses which had so long disgraced and ruined the Russian affairs. Men of every rank and class had free access to him; they might bring their own interpreter, and be sure of having justice quickly administered. His loss was deeply felt in Georgia, which he was rapidly getting into order; and he had nearly succeeded in bringing the tribes of the Caucasus into pacific relations with the Russian government, by employing a portion of their troops and not interfering with their internal government,— the only system of policy, as I often heard from his own lips, that he thought likely to succeed. A commencement was made by forming a Circassian body-guard at St. Petersburg, with high pay and great advantages, privates ranking as officers. The four Mahomedan regiments raised by him still form part of the Russian army; and had the Polish war not summoned away the Prince, the native troops would have been augmented to 25,000 men.

In his outward deportment Prince Paskiewitch was hasty and sometimes even violent, which appears to be a fashionable piece of affectation among the Russian officers — perhaps from a desire of

imitating the eccentricities of Suwaroff; but in his actions Paskiewitch was as remarkable for his cool deliberation as for the rapid execution of whatever he had decided upon. It has been said of him (reversing the epigram on Charles II.) that he seldom said a wise thing and never did a foolish one. I had myself a great deal of communication with him regarding the payment of the contribution levied on Persia, which I had been appointed to superintend, and always experienced great kindness and consideration from him, having access to him at all hours when any difficulty arose about the payment, an annoyance that was constantly taking place from the caprice or insolence of the inferior agents.

It was thus my acquaintance with him began; but I was afterwards on terms of considerable intimacy with him, and this eventually led to my accompanying the Russian army to Tiflis and being an eye-witness of part of the operations described; but I have obtained my information concerning the latter part of the war from the accounts of officers who were in the Russian army, who related to me the part they had themselves taken in the actions mentioned. The dates I have verified from Fonton's history.

APPENDIX.

TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RUSSIA AND TURKEY.

In the name of God Almighty! His Imperial Majesty the most high and most mighty Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias and his Highness the most high and most mighty Emperor of the Ottomans, animated with an equal desire to put an end to all the calamities of war, and to establish, on solid and immutable bases, peace, friendship, and good harmony between their empires, have resolved, with a common accord, to intrust this salutary work to, &c.

[Here follow the names and titles of the different plenipotentiaries on both sides.]

Art. I. — All enmity and all differences which have subsisted hitherto between the two empires shall cease from this day, as well on land as on sea, and there shall be in perpetuity, peace, friendship, and good intelligence, between his Majesty the Emperor and Padishah of all the Russias, and his Highness the Padishah of the Ottomans, their heirs and successors to the throne, as well as between their respective empires. The two high contracting parties will devote their particular attention to

prevent all that might cause misunderstandings to revive between their respective subjects. They will scrupulously fulfil all the conditions of the present treaty of peace, and will watch at the same time lest it should be infringed in any manner, directly or indirectly.

ART. II.—His Majesty the Emperor and Padishah of all the Russias wishing to give to his Highness the Emperor and Padishah of the Ottomans a pledge of the sincerity of his friendly disposition, restores to the Sublime Porte the Principality of Moldavia, with all the boundaries which it had before the commencement of the war to which this present treaty has put an end.

His Imperial Majesty also restores the Principality of Wallachia, the Banat of Crayova, Bulgaria, and the country of Dobridge, from the Danube as far as the sea, together with Silistria, Hirsova, Matzia, Isaklya, Toulza, Babadag, Bazardjik, Varna, Pravady, and other towns, burghs, and villages which it contains, the whole extent of the Balkan from Emine, Bournou, as far as Kazan, and all the country from the Balkans as far as the sea, with Siliminea, Jamboli, Aidos, Karnabat, Missenovica, Akhioly, Bourgas, Sizopolis, Kirk-Klissi, the city of Adrianople, Lule Bourgas, and all the towns, burghs, and villages, and in general all places which the Russian troops have occupied in Roumelia.

ART. III.—The Pruth shall continue to form the limit of the two empires, from the point where that river touches the territory of Moldavia, to its junction with the Danube; from that spot the frontier line will follow the course of the Danube as far as the mouth of St. George's, so that, leaving all the islands formed by the different arms of that river in possession of Russia, the right bank shall remain,

as formerly, in the possession of the Ottoman Porte. Nevertheless, it is agreed that this right bank shall remain uninhabited from the point where the arm of the St. George separates itself from that of Souline, to a distance of two hours from the river, and that no establishment of any kind shall be formed there, any more than on the islands which shall remain in possession of the Court of Russia, where, with the exception of the quarantines which may be established there, it shall not be allowed to make any other establishment or fortifications. The merchant vessels of the powers shall have the liberty of navigating the Danube in all its course, and those which bear the Ottoman flag shall have free entrance into the mouths of Keli and Souline, that of St. George remaining common to the ships of war and merchant vessels of the two contracting powers. But the Russian ships of war, when ascending the Danube, shall not go beyond the point of its junction with the Pruth.

ART. IV.— Georgia, Immeretia, Mingrelia, Guriel, and several other provinces of the Caucasus, having been for many years and in perpetuity united to the empire of Russia, and that empire having besides, by the treaty concluded with Persia at Tourkmantchai, on the 10th of February 1828, acquired the Khanats of Erivan and of Nackshiwan, the two high contracting powers have recognised the necessity of establishing between their respective states, on the whole of that line, a well-determined frontier, capable of preventing all future discussion. They have equally taken into consideration the proper means to oppose insurmountable obstacles to the incursions and depredations which the neighbouring tribes have hitherto committed, and which have so often compromised the relations

of friendship and good feeling between the two empires; consequently it has been agreed upon to consider henceforward as the frontiers between the territories of the Imperial Court of Russia and those of the Sublime Ottoman Porte in Asia the line which, following the present limit of the Gúriel from the Black Sea, ascends as far as the border of Immeretia, and from thence, in the straightest direction, as far as the point where the frontiers of the Pashaliks of Akhaltsek and of Kars meet those of Georgia, leaving in this manner to the north of, and within that line, the town of Akhaltsek and the fort of Akhakalak at a distance of not less than two hours.

All the countries situated to the south and west of this line of demarcation, towards the Pashaliks of Kars and Trebizond, together with the major part of the Pashalik of Akhaltsek, shall remain in perpetuity under the domination of the Sublime Porte, whilst those which are situated to the north and east of the said line, towards Georgia, Immeretia, and the Guriel, as well as all the littoral of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kuban as far as the port of St. Nicholas inclusively, under the domination of the Emperor of Russia. In consequence, the Imperial Court of Russia gives up and restores to the Sublime Porte the remainder of the Pashalik of Akhaltsk, the town and the Pashalik of Kars, the town and the Pashalik of Bayazeed, the town and the Pashalik of Erzeroum, as well as all the places occupied by the Russian troops, and which may be out of the above-mentioned line.

ART. V. — The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia having, by a capitulation, placed themselves under the suzeraineté of the Sublime Porte, and Russia having guaranteed their prosperity, it is understood that they

shall preserve all the privileges and immunities granted to them in virtue of their capitulation, whether by the treaties concluded between the two imperial courts, or by the Hatti-Sherifs issued at different times. In consequence they shall enjoy the free exercise of their religion, perfect security, a national and independent administration, and the full liberty of trade. The additional clauses to antecedent stipulations, considered necessary to secure to these two provinces the enjoyment of their rights, shall be inscribed in the annexed separate act, which is and shall be considered as forming an integral part of the present treaty.

ART. VI. — The circumstances which have occurred since the conclusion of the Convention of Akermann not having permitted the Sublime Porte to undertake immediately the execution of the clauses of the separate act relative to Servia, and annexed to the Fifth Article of the said convention, the Sublime Porte engages in the most solemn manner to fulfil them without the least delay, and with the most scrupulous exactness; and to proceed, in particular, to the immediate restitution of the six districts detached from Servia, so as to ensure for ever the tranquillity and the welfare of that faithful and obedient nation. The Firman, confirmed by the Hatti-Sherif, which shall order the execution of the aforesaid clauses, shall be delivered and communicated to the Imperial Court of Russia within the period of a month from the date of the signature of the treaty of peace.

ART. VII. — Russian subjects shall enjoy, throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire, as well by land as by sea, the full and entire liberty of commerce secured to them by the former treaties concluded between the

two high contracting powers. No infringement of that liberty of commerce shall be committed, neither shall it be permitted to be checked, in any case nor under any pretence, by a prohibition or any restriction whatever, nor in consequence of any regulation or measure, whether it be one of internal administration or one of internal legislation. Russian subjects, vessels, and merchandise, shall be secure against all violence and all chicanery. The former shall live under the exclusive jurisdiction and police of the ministers and consuls of Russia. The Russian vessels shall not be subjected to any visit on board whatever on the part of the Ottoman authorities, neither out at sea nor in any of the ports or roadsteads belonging to the dominions of the Sublime Porte. And all merchandise and commodities belonging to a Russian subject, after having paid the custom-house duties required by the tariffs, shall be freely conveyed, and deposited on land, in the warehouses of the proprietor or of his consignee, or else transferred to the vessels of any other nation whatever, without the Russian subjects being required to give notice to the local authorities, and still less to ask their permission. It is expressly agreed upon, that all grain proceeding from Russia shall enjoy the same privileges, and that its free transit shall never experience, under any pretence, any difficulty or impediment. The Sublime Porte engages, besides, to watch carefully that the commerce and navigation of the Black Sea shall not experience the slightest obstruction of any nature whatever. For this purpose the Sublime Porte recognises and declares the passage of the Canal of Constantinople and the Strait of the Dardanelles entirely free and open to Russian ships under merchant flags, laden or in ballast, whether they

come from the Black Sea to go into the Mediterranean, or whether, returning from the Mediterranean, they wish to re-enter the Black Sea. These vessels, provided they be merchantmen, of whatever size or tonnage they may be, shall not be exposed to any impediment or vexation whatever, as it has been stipulated above. The two Courts shall come to an understanding with respect to the best means for preventing all delay in the delivery of the necessary clearances. In virtue of the same principle, the passage of the Canal of Constantinople and of the Strait of the Dardanelles is declared free and open for all the merchant vessels of the powers at peace with the Sublime Porte, whether bound to the Russian ports of the Black Sea or returning from them — whether laden or in ballast — upon the same conditions as those stipulated for the vessels under the Russian flag. In fine, the Sublime Porte, acknowledging the right of the Imperial Court of Russia to obtain guarantee of this full liberty of commerce and navigation in the Black Sea, solemnly declares that she will never, under any pretence whatever, throw the least obstacle in its way. She promises, above all, never to permit herself in future to stop or detain vessels, laden or in ballast, whether Russian or belonging to nations with which the Ottoman Empire shall not be in a state of declared war, passing through the Strait of Constantinople and the Strait of the Dardanelles, to repair from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, or from the Mediterranean to the Russian ports of the Black Sea. And if, which God forbid! any of the stipulations contained in the present article should be infringed, and the reclamation of the Russian minister on that subject should not obtain a full and prompt satisfaction, the Sublime Porte recognises,

beforehand, the right in the Imperial Court of Russia to consider such an infraction an act of hostility, and immediately to retaliate on the Ottoman Empire.

ART. VIII.—The arrangements formerly stipulated by the Sixth Article of the Convention of Akermann, for the purpose of regulating and liquidating the claims of the respective subjects and merchants of both empires, relating to the indemnity for the losses experienced at different periods, since the war of 1806, not having been yet carried into effect, and Russian commerce having since the conclusion of the aforesaid convention suffered new and considerable injury, in consequence of the measure adopted respecting the navigation of the Bosphorus, it is agreed and determined that the Sublime Porte, as a reparation for that injury and those losses, shall pay to the Imperial Court of Russia, in the course of eighteen months, at periods which shall be settled hereafter, the sum of 1,500,000 ducats of Holland; so that the payment of this sum shall put an end to all claim or reciprocal pretensions on the part of the two contracting powers on the subject of the aforesaid circumstances.

ART. IX.—The prolongation of the war, to which the present treaty of peace happily puts an end, having occasioned to the Imperial Court of Russia considerable expenses, the Sublime Porte recognises the necessity of offering it an adequate indemnity. For this purpose, independently of the cession of a small portion of territory in Asia, stipulated by the Fourth Article, which the Court of Russia consents to receive on account of the said indemnity, the Sublime Porte engages to pay to the said court a sum of money, the amount of which shall be regulated by mutual accord.

ART. X.—The Sublime Porte, whilst declaring its entire adhesion to the stipulations of the treaty concluded in London on the 24th of June (6th of July) 1827, between Russia, Great Britain, and France, accedes equally to the act drawn up on the 10th (22nd) of March 1829, by mutual consent, between these same powers, on the basis of the said treaty, and containing the arrangement of detail relative to its definite execution. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty of peace, the Sublime Porte shall appoint plenipotentiaries to settle, with those of the Imperial Court of Russia, and of the Courts of England and France, the execution of the said stipulations and arrangements.

ART. XI.—Immediately after the signature of the present treaty of peace between the two empires, and the exchange of the ratification of the two sovereigns, the Sublime Porte shall take the necessary measures for the prompt and scrupulous execution of the stipulations which it contains, and particularly of the Third and Fourth Articles, relative to the limits which are to separate the two empires, as well in Europe as in Asia, and of the Fifth and Sixth Articles, respecting the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as Servia; and from the moment when these stipulations can be considered as having been fulfilled, the Imperial Court of Russia will proceed to the evacuation of the territory of the Ottoman empire, conformably to the bases established by a separate act, which forms an integral part of the present treaty of peace. Until the complete evacuation of the territories occupied by the Russian troops, the administration and the order of things there established at the present time, under the influence of the Imperial Court of Russia, shall

be maintained, and the Sublime Ottoman Porte shall not interfere with them in any manner.

ART. XII.—Immediately after the signature of the present treaty of peace, orders shall be given to the commanders of the respective troops, as well by land as by sea, to cease hostilities. Those committed after the signature of the present treaty shall be considered as not having taken place, and shall occasion no change in the stipulations which it contains. In the same manner, anything which in that interval shall have been conquered by the troops of either one or other of the high contracting powers shall be restored without the least delay.

ART. XIII.—The high contracting powers, while re-establishing between themselves the relations of sincere amity, grant general pardon, and a full and entire amnesty, to all those of their subjects, of whatever condition they may be, who, during the course of the war, happily terminated this day, shall have taken part in military operations, or manifested, either by their conduct or by their opinions, their attachment to one or the other of the two contracting powers. In consequence, not one of these individuals shall be molested or prosecuted, either in his person or his goods, on account of his past conduct, and every one of them, recovering the property which he possessed before, shall enjoy it peaceably under the protection of the laws, or shall be at liberty to dispose of it within the space of eighteen months, to transport himself, with his family, his goods, his furniture, &c., into any country which he may please to choose, without experiencing any vexations or impediments whatever.

There shall be granted besides to the respective subjects

of the two powers established in the territories restored to the Sublime Porte or ceded to the Imperial Court of Russia, the same term of eighteen months, to commence from the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty of peace, to dispose, if they think proper, of their property, acquired either before or since the war, and to retire with their capital, their goods, furniture, &c., from the states of one of the contracting powers into those of the other, and reciprocally.

ART. XIV.—All prisoners of war, of whatever nation, condition, or sex they may be, which are in the two empires, must, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty of peace, be set free, and restored without the least ransom or payment, with the exceptions of the Christians, who, of their own free will have embraced the Mahomedan religion in the states of the Sublime Porte, or the Mahomedans who, also of their own free will, have embraced the Christian religion in the territories of the Russian empire.

The same conduct shall be adopted towards the Russian subjects, who, after the signature of the present treaty of peace, in any manner whatever, my have fallen into captivity and be found in the states of the Sublime Porte.

The Imperial Court of Russia promises, on its part, to act in the same way towards the subjects of the Sublime Porte. No repayment shall be required for the sums which have been applied by the two high contracting parties to the support of prisoners. Each of them shall provide the prisoners with all that may be necessary for their journey as far as the frontiers, where they shall be exchanged by commissaries appointed on both sides.

ART. XV.—All the treaties, conventions, and stipu-

lations, settled and concluded at different periods, between the Imperial Court of Russia and the Ottoman Porte, with the exception of those which have been annulled by the present treaty of peace, are confirmed in all their force and effect, and the two high centracting parties engage to observe them religiously and inviolably.

ART. XVI.—The present treaty of peace shall be ratified by the two high contracting courts, and the exchange of the ratifications between their respective plenipotentiaries shall take place within the space of six weeks, or earlier, if possible.

In faith of which,

(Signed)

COUNT ALEXIS ORLOFF.
COUNT J. PAHLEN.

In virtue, &c.,

(Signed)

DIEBITSCH ZABALKANSKY.*

* The above treaty of peace has been taken from the Annual Register, which will account for the different manner in which the names of some of the places are spelt.

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